

THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI
RESEARCH INSTITUTE,
MADRAS.

A HISTORY

OF

THE ZAMORINS OF CALICUT

PART I

(From the earliest times to 1498 A. D.)

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INTRODUCTION.

The history of Kerala from the partition of the country by Cheraman Perumal to the arrival of the Portuguese is a blank. This is to some extent filled up by the story of the rise of the Zamorins of Calicut.

Secondly, their history is in some respects more inspiring than that of their more fortunate neighbours. While Travancore and Cochin had had to pass through many vicissitudes arising from family intrigues, internal rebellion, and forcible subjugation, the history of the Zamorins was, from the day when the first Manavikraman received the sword from Cheraman Perumal to the day when his 122nd successor blew himself up with his fort at Calicut in 1766, a record of loyalty to the chief, moderation in government, and fidelity in friendship, of success against rivals or defiance against invaders.

Thirdly, Travancore is a monument to the genius of one great man, Martanda Varma. The empire of the Zamorins, which, in their palmiest days, was as large as present Travancore and Cochin combined, is a monument to the ability of successive Manavikramans. The appearance of a genius endowed with the great qualities of a general and statesman is rare; the continued possession of all these qualities through successive generations in a single family is a still rarer phenomenon.

Fourthly, by the consolidation of their authority the Zamorins saved a large part of Kerala from anarchy and maintained the reputation it had enjoyed as a rich and prosperous country.

Lastly, like the Perumals, whom the Zamorins succeeded, some of them were themselves poets and philosophers, while all of them were liberal patrons of arts and learning.

I have not had the time to do full justice to all these varied aspects of their history. I began to work upon the subject only a year ago, after the visit of the University Commission. And I have been able to give to the subject only such spare time as my daily work in the College allowed. My intention in this book is to preserve the materials which I have so far collected by printing the manuscript notes which are becoming illegible rather than to present to the public the considered product of an exhaustive investigation. Only a few copies have been printed for circulation among those interested in the history of Malabar. I hope they will help me to bring out a second and larger edition by kindly pointing out the many errors of omission and commission I may have fallen into.

In conclusion, I have to express my deep indebtedness to M.R.Ry. K.C. Manavikraman Raja* Avl.,

alias Valia Kuttiettan Thampuran, the present Edath-thralpad, for his sustained sympathy and encouragement, without which I would not have ventured on this task; and to his cousin, M.R.Ry. K.C. Manavikrama Raja Avl., D. C., the editor of the *Mamakam Kilippat* and the Secretary of the Jenmi Sabha, for kindly placing at my disposal his knowledge of Malabar, its history and problems.

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Chapter I. The Titles of the Zamorin.

“ The Zamorin’s family is composed of the following principal or primary ranks :—

1st the Zamorin or senior of all the family;

2nd the Eralpaar or second Raja;

3rd the Munalpaar or third Raja;

4th the Melampaar or fourth Raja;

5th the Neree Eerepo Moota Erary or the great

Erary of Neree Eerepoo, a district in Eranaar, on the earth of which spot all the Zamorin family ought to be born; and those that have attained to these superior ranks are no longer denominated from nor do they continue to reside in the Colgums or palaces wherein they were born and brought up, but they go into separate houses and continue ever after to have no other designation than those above specified, till (if they live long enough) they ultimately attain the Samoorryship; whilst all the Junior Rajas continue to live (till they successviely, attain to the 5th of the primary ranks by seniority) and to derive their denomination from the Colgum or palace in which they were born and brought up, at the head of all which Colgums is in a very special or preeminent degree the first or general one occupied by the Ambary (i. e. celestial nymph) or eldest female of the Zamorin’s line who is looked up to with

at least equal respect as he is himself by all the other branches of the family which being supposed to have (although so numerous) all sprung from one original, venter or stock, are accordingly said to have many centuries ago occupied but this one Colgum or palace, though from this increase of their numbers there are now several the principal whereof are:—

1st the Ambary Colgum:

2nd the Poodia Colgum or new palace;

3rd the Kurke Colgum or eastern palace;

4th the Peringar Colgum or western palace.*

In these words the Joint Commissioners appointed to inspect into the state and condition of the Province of Malabar in the years 1792 and 1793 described the various sthanees and kovilakams of this swarupam.

Except that the thampurans of Kizhakke kovilakam retain their residence and interest in their kovilakam after they have come to the Sthanam, the report of the Joint Commissioners needs no alteration today. Dr. Buchanan who visited Malabar in 1800—01 mentions a sixth title—the *Ellearadi Thirumulpata Raja*. * The evidence of extant traditions does not support the existence of any such dignity and “Katancheri” would have certainly mentioned it in his *Mamakam Kilipat*. (മാമാക്കം കിലിപ്പാട്ട്) had there been

* Para 90.

* A Journey through Mysore, Malabar and Canara—Vol II p. 394.

such an office with special and important functions of its own.

The sthanees succeed each other according to strict seniority of age. Neither old age nor sickness had led any of the Zamorins to abdicate or entrust the work of government to their nephews in supersession of the other dignitaries. The jealousies and discords that afflicted Perimpadappu and gave rise to such a custom there had no place in Nediyruppu. Respect for the swarupam, unfailing loyalty to the chief under all circumstances, was here an article of faith. It was a cause of their success and a source of envy to their less fortunate neighbours and rivals.

The Portuguese historians and the English writers * who have followed them have done in this respect a great injustice. Alfonso Albuquerque, the younger, in his *Commentaries*, * extolling the achievements of his father, the great Viceroy, has stated that the Zamorin who allowed the Portuguese to build a fort at Calicut in 1514 A. D, hastened the death of his predecessor by the administration of poison killed all those among his ministers and subjects who were opposed to the Portuguese alliance, kept his mother virtually in exile and attempted at the instigation of his wife to divert

Danvers—*The Portuguese in India*—Vol. I p. 281.

Morse Stephens—*Albuquerque*—p. 31.

* *Commentaries of Alfonso Albuquerque*—Vol. IV. pp. 70—2,

the succession to his sons. It is ^a fact that this Zamorin when he was Erалpad was not prepared to go the whole hog with the out-and-out Mappilla policy of the court and alone among the Zamorin's counsellors inweighed against the policy of declaring war on Cochin for no other offence than that of giving asylum to a handful of Feringhees. But when war was decided upon and the forces were in full march, no one showed himself more loyal or more eager to fight the enemy. Such a crime as is imputed to him by the Portuguese historian of treason not only against his king but against the custom of ages — was simply impossible. The very monstrosity of the allegation is its best and most convincing refutation.

We do not know how and when the five dignities came into existence. According to one version, * Manavikraman and his younger brother, Manavedan, after their installation as Emperor and Elamkur repaired with their mother, sisters, and three nephews to Calicut, the capital assigned to them by the retiring Perumal. Two palaces were erected — one for the thampurattis called Ambadi Kovilakam and the other for himself, his brother and nephews. The dignities of Munankur, Edaththralpad and Nediyruppu Mooththa Erady were then created and his nephews formally

* Statement of the Zamorin to the Hon'ble East India Company dated the 15th Kanni 1810.

invested with them according to the order of their age.

The title of heirapparent or Elamkur existed from very early time. It was the practice in ancient days to crown the heir-apparent also if he was of age immediately after the coronation of the king. It is impossible to say when the other dignities came into existence. Most probably they were not created all at once but only according to the needs of a growing empire.

There is however a fundamental difference between the first three titles and the last two. The former seem to be fullfledged royal dignities carrying with them every insignia pertaining to their exalted rank. The latter are not styled rulers of Ernad as the others; most probably they were later appellations derived either from the place of their residence or country placed under their immediate charge. Water is not sprinkled before them, pages do not precede them carrying their sword, the Bhagavati is not taken in procession before them nor do they possess the privilege of standing in state at the *mamamkam* festival.

This family now so big was not so prolific in the days of their greatness. Their number could always be counted on one's fingers. In fact twice in their history—once in the sixteenth century and again in the eighteenth—this family was threatened with extinction.

The former was averted by special ceremonies to propitiate the gods. * The latter was overcome by the adoption of three thampurans and two thampurattis from Nileswaram on 16th Makaram 881 M.E., corresponding to 1706 A. D.

The head of the family signs in all state papers and documents as Manavikrama Samoothiri Raja. Keralolphaththy derives Manavikraman from the names of the two brothers, Manichchan and Vikraman, to whom Cheraman Perumal gave his sword as a parting gift. The names of the brothers, according to another tradition, were Manavikraman and Manavedan. In the grant of Bhaskara Ravivarman to the Jews, the ruler of Ernad appears under the name of Manavepala Manaviyan (മാനവേപല മാനവിയൻ) which perhaps was the original from which both Manavikraman and Manavedan were derived.

Among the males there were at first only three names: Manavikraman, Manavedan and Virarayan.

* കൊല്ലവും എഴുന്തറുവിലും ഇന്നിതു പന
രില്ല സന്തതി കുലത്തിങ്കലായതുകണ്ട
നല്ലതെന്തിനിക്കിനി സന്തതിയുണ്ടാവാൻ
എന്നുള്ളതു ഭൂദേവന്മാരോടു ചൊരിച്ചുനൂപൻ
ഭൂസുരന്മാരും വിചാരിച്ചു ചൊല്ലിനാരെല്ലാ
മാസങ്ങൾതോറും തിരുവാണംനാളിട്ടുവാൻ
താപവുമൊഴിഞ്ഞതുകേട്ടു ശൈലാഞ്ചിശാപൻ
ശ്രീപരിനക്ഷത്രങ്ങൾ ഉദ്ദീപിനാൻ മൃവാണ്ടപ്പോൾ
വാസുദേവർക്കെതന്നെ ജനിച്ചു കുമാരനും

(p. 33. മാമാങ്കം കിളിപ്പാട്ട്)

As the family grew big new designations and pet names were introduced as Sreevirarayan, Sreemanavikraman, Kuttunni, Ettan, Kuttiettan Cheriecttan, Kunhettan, Amman and Marumahan. To distinguish between two members of the same name it is now the custom ^{for} of the senior to add the prefix *Valia* and for the junior *Cheria* to his name. Every Zamorin on his accession to the musnad drops his personal name and adopts that of the founder, Manavikraman, which is thus both a title and a name.

To the world at large the king of Calicut is known as Tamutiri in its various forms as Tamuri, Samuri, Samutiri, Samudri, Samory, Samidre, Samorim and Zamorin. Whether this title was originally assumed by him or conferred upon him, it is impossible to determine. According to the testimony of foreign writers, Cheraman Perumal was the first to call him by this designation. Thus De Barros writes:—"This place (Calicut) although but small, he wished to give to a nephew who was his favourite and as a new name of power over the rest he called him Samory as it might be emperor amongst us". Camoens sings to the same effect.—

* In the same way every member of the Cochin and Travancore royal families becomes Rama Varma on his accession.

This he confers with title excellent
 Of Emperor, that the rest he may command,
 Which done, he straightway sets forth diligent,
 To live and die within the sacred land;
 Hence came a title Samorin, in intent
 Among them all of dignity more grand,
 Upon that youth and line; and thence came down
 On him who wears today the Imperial Crown.

It is in the travels of Abdur Razaak who visited Malabar in 1442 that we first meet with this word, as it is in Ibu Batuta's Travels that we have the first mention of the fort of Calicut. "The sovereign of this city", says the Persian ambassador "bears the title of Samori".

What the word was originally intended to convey nobody now can tell. According to one interpretation the word is a corruption of Samanta and 'tiri' meaning thereby the greatest of the Samantas. The Samantas trace their origin to Agni or Fire, and rank below the Kshatriyas in the social heirarchy of Malabar. To this class belong eight royal families who are collectively known as the Eight Samantas (എൻ പഴിശാമന്തർ). These eight Samantas are; (1) the ancestors of Tekkan (തെക്കൻ) and Vatakken (വടക്കൻ), Kur (കുറ) rajas; (2) Venatri; (3) Onatri; (4) Nedungeri; (5) Vellatri; (6) Eralathiri; (7) Porlathiri (8) and lastly Kolathiri. As the Erlathiri became the most powerful amongst these he was called the greatest Samanta or Samantatiri.

Gundert derives the word from Samudra or ocean and explains Samudiri * as meaning the ruler of the sea. This explanation seems at first sight plausible. We have the evidence of Abdur Razaak to show that the inhabitants of Calicut were adventurous sailors and the inclusion of 'the goddess of shipping' (കപ്പലാട്ടുദേവത) among the *lares et penates* daily worshipped by the Zamorin points to maritime enterprises both war-like and commercial. A court poet with the usual exaggeration of a panegyrist might have called him the lord of the sea. The name might have stuck and stayed to confound a future historian.

The word is sometimes derived from Samudragiri meaning the "king of the ocean and mountain" This is the Sanskrit equivalent of the vernacular Kunnala Konathiri (കുന്നലക്കോനാതിരി) a title by which the Azh-vancheri Champurakkal (ആഴ്വാഞ്ചീരി ചമ്പ്രാക്കൽ) addresses the Zamorin when he waits upon him to receive his blessing at the rice-pouring ceremony.

The word is also derived from Tamilakam. The country south of the White Rock opposite Badagara in the present North Malabar district was called 'Limirike' or 'Dimirike' by the early European geographers., and even in later times, the inhabitants of Malabar were called the Tamils. The ruler of the lands of the Tamils, it might be argued, was called Tamuli or Tamuri by the first foreigners who set foot upon our land.

* Malayalam—English Dictionary. p. 1058.

Another etymology has also been suggested. The word is regarded as a compound of *Swami* and *Sri*. "*Swami* becomes *Syami* or *Samu* commonly in proper names. *Sri* becomes *Tiri* by ordinary tadbhavam rules as in countless other words. So we get *Samitiri* or *Samutiri*. The second syllable becomes lengthened so often before the termination *tiri* (e. g. Nambutiri) and we get *Samutiri*."

Whatever its origin there is no doubt the word indicated pre-eminence. All foreign writers without exception regard the word as conferring a distinction above others. "The King (of Calicut)", says Barbosa, "made himself the most powerful in Malabar and they called him 'Samidre' which is a distinction above others".* Barros and Camoens take it as a title conferring the greatest dignity. ÷ The Frenchman, Pyrard de Laval, who sojourned at Calicut from June 1607 to February 1608, says:— "There be many kings in Malabar. But the greatest and most puissant is he of Calicut who is called Samory. This is the distinguishing mark of his grandeur above all the rest, this word having the same meaning as emperor with us." ○ Again, "he is called Samory by all the Indians, a word of great weight in their language

* K, C. Manavikrama Raja D. C. editor of the Mamakam, note by

J. A. Thorne—*Book of Duarte Barbosa*—Vol. II p. 260.

× *Ibid* p. 5.

÷ *Vide supra*

○ *Voyage of Pyrard de Laval* Vol. I p. 369

and equivalent to Emperor, for he is one of the greatest and richest princes of India." * The Dutch Governor, Moens, writing in 1781, remarks:—"In ancient times it (Calicut) was the most powerful and the most wealthy of the four kingdoms of Malabar. For this reason the Zamorin formerly let himself be styled Emperor". * In historic times the Zamorin possessed all the various attributes which the learned scholars both indigenous and foreign read into the word: he was the greatest of the Samantas, emperor of Kerala who alone had the privilege of coining money and roofing with tiles, lord of the land where began the ancient Tamilakam, and before the Portuguese came, lord of the sea in addition to the hills.

Another title of the Zamorin is 'Kunnalakonathiri' or the great lord of hills and waves. This title is conferred upon him by the Azhvancheri Thamprakkal when giving his benediction. Every Zamorin at his ricepouring ceremony, before he puts on the crown jewels and receives the blessings of the Nambutiris of Poomulli, (പൂമുള്ളി) Varikkasseri (വരിക്കാശ്ശേരി) and Kirangat (കിരാങ്ങാട്ട) illoms, has to prostrate himself before the Thamprakkal, her highest

* *Ibid* p. 408.

sacerdotal dignity in Malabar when he blesses him in these words, "Protecting cows and Brahmins, reign as Kunnalakonathiri",—not unlike the injunction which saint Ramdas urged on the great Mahratta hero. So faithfully is this commandment carried out even today that Nambutiris and cows have the free run of the Zamorin's palace. In days when he was a ruling chief the killing of a cow was a crime punishable with death. The great liberty enjoyed both by the cow and the Brahmin at the Zamorin's court has been commented upon by almost every foreign traveller who had had occasion to visit the palace. "I must not forget to mention," says Pyrard de Laval, * "in passing and as the opportunity arise the great honour rendered by these people to cows however lowbred, filthy, wellcovered with dirt and dung they may be. They are allowed to enter the king's palace and whithersoever their way leads without anyone disputing their passage, even the king himself and all their greatest lords give place to them with the utmost respect and reverence and the same with bulls and oxen".

The Nambutiri Brahmin not only officiates as priest but also discharges the functions of regent during the period of interregnum between the death of one Zamorin and the accession of the next. All letters are written in the name of the Talappanna Nambutiri (തലപ്പന്ന നമ്പൂതിരി) by Mangat Alchan (മങ്ങച്ചൻ) and all state documents are signed for the Zamorin by the Chittoor Nambutiri.

Punturakon or Punturesan is another of the many titles of the Zamorin which has considerably exercised the ingenuity of scholars. The Joint Commissioners have stated in their report that Poondra was the birth-place of Manavikraman, the founder of the dynasty, and it was situated on the banks of the Cauvery near Erode. On this authority Mr. Logan calls the Eradi brothers by the name of the Puntura youths and some scholars unable to locate this town have dragged Perindurai, a railway station on the S. I. Railway, out of its obscurity to answer for the original seat of this family. Perhaps a more correct interpretation is that which regards *Puntura* as the synonym for "a great port", which Calicut certainly was at the time when the Europeans first landed in India. In Katancheri's Kilipat this title occurs more often than any other and the first treaty which the Zamorin made with the English begins with the words "(P) Undercoon Cheet".

The rulers of Malabar addressed the king of Calicut not by any of these titles but as Nēdiyiruppu Swarupam. A swarupam is generally translated as a dynasty. In the political phraseology of Malabar it however denoted the highest power and dignity. A swarupi had the power of life and death, of killing and taking cognisance of murder. A swarupam derived its name from the original seat of the family. Nēdiyiruppu, a village in Ernad taluk was the birth-place of the founder of this dynasty and hence the title.

Besides the usual insignia of royalty, the Zamorin is distinguished by other signs of pomp and dignity. In all state visits and processions he is preceded by the sacred door-panel (പളിമരം), and the Bhagavati, and the Cheraman sword, while seven beautiful damsels sweep the ground on which he has to tread.

CHAPTER II

The other Sthanams and the Kovilakams.

The second prince of this family is styled Elamkur. As the Zamorin is called Erlathiri, the next in rank is called Ernad Elamkur Nambiatiri Tirumulpad. He is the 'Nambeaderim' of the Portuguese annals and the *Eralpad* of popular parlance.

When the Zamorin shifted his residence to Calicut the government of Ernad devolved upon him. Nevertheless he seems to have taken an active part in the early wars of aggrandisement. It was under his leadership that Ponnani and Tirunavayi were occupied and the Walluvakon shut out from all part and lot in the twelve-yearly mamakam. The province of Nedunganad was also conquered by him as much by diplomacy as by military prowess. In reward for this achievement the Zamorin made over to him the newly subjugated territory. He established his official seat at Karimpuzha, (കരിമ്പുഴ), coming to the Zamorin's palace only on special summons or for ceremonies in which he had to take part.

Whenever he makes any formal visits, five damsels go before him sprinkling water on the ground from silver vessels. Instead of the pallinaradi, he is preceded by a flag bearing the figure of Hanuman, perhaps as a mark of reverence for Ramaswami, the presiding deity of Karimpuzha, or as the deity which presides over victory and confers invincible might. He had, when he was a ruling prince, special officers attached to him. Cherooli Achchan (ചെറൂരി അച്ചൻ) Achchan acted as his prime minister and the Punnasserri Nambi (പുന്നശ്ശേരി നമ്പി), as the custodian of his wardrobe and jewels.

After his coronation ceremony the Eralpad leaves the Zamorin's palace for his head-quarters at Nedunganad. The original warlike expedition of the Eralpad which resulted in the annexation of the territory is now commemorated in the form of a state procession. In olden times as soon as he entered the first frontier station of Yegneswaram he had to give a bond to Vemanchery Nambutiri that he would protect Brahmins, cows and temples. And when the procession reached Mangat, the Mooththans used to wait upon him with six measures of Virarayan fanams as a mark of their gratitude for the protection given to them when they came to this country as homeless fugitives from Chola desa. This ceremony is still gone through, but in the greater general poverty of to-day, peas or other grains do duty as a vicarious substitute for gold.

The Munamkur.

The third prince officially styled the Ernad Munamkur Nambiatiri Tirumulpad (എറണാകുളം മന്ത്രി തിരുമുല്പാദ) had no fixed head-quarters. After the installation of the Eralpad as governor of Nedunganad, the duties, especially, of the warden of the southern marches were entrusted to him. He stayed for the most part at Chetwai or Cranganore, as close to the storm centre as possible, ready to take the offensive or

assume the defensive against the Portuguese, afterwards the Dutch, and Cochin. Three damsels sprinkle water before him whenever he goes out, and his ensign is a white cloth suspended from an umbrella.

The Edaththralpad was originally the governor of Edaththaranad and the surrounding districts. He and the next in rank, the Nediyruppu Mooththa Erady, have no special insignia to distinguish them.

The formal enthronement ceremony of these four sthanees generally takes place on the same day as the Zamorin's himself. The expenses are of course defrayed by the head of the family. These sthanees had, when the Zamorin was a ruling chief, to execute a bond of allegiance and loyalty, and the Zamorin and among the Nambutiris, Varikkasseri (വരിക്കാശ്ശേരി), then 'pour' a handful of rice on their head with which ceremony whatever religious rites there are come to a close.

They had also certain duties to perform at the twelve-yearly *mamamkam* festival at Tirunavayi. These princes had to furnish guards to escort the Zamorin when he came out in procession on elephantback, beginning with the Mooththa Erady on the asterism of *aswathi* to the Eralpad on *rohini*. Further the Eralpad had to pay his homage and allegiance in view

of the assembled crowd, for which purpose he came from his appointed place on the left bank of the river to the *Vakayur maniththara* (വാകയൂർ മണിത്തറ) in a grand procession with which the festival terminated.

The Ambadi Kovilakam.

The palace of the thampurattis is called the Ambadi Kovilakam or the palace of the "celestial nymphs". It is distinct and separate from the palace of the thampurans, though situated within the same enclosure and connected with it by a covered colonnade. In their apartment the princesses lead a life of the strictest seclusion, none but their attendants and their husbands enjoying free access. That such seclusion did not necessarily lead to stagnation the fame of Manorama Thampuratty is enough to show.

The Frenchman, Pyrard De Laval, who was a great favourite at the palace on account of his strange and outlandish manners and habits, thus describes the life in his day (1607):-

"As for the queen she lives in a separate house, yet within the same enclosure as the great palace. She never eats with the king and is seen but rarely and then only at the windows and galleries of her palace or of the king's, whither she frequently proceeds by a gallery, which communicates between these two and

there they see each other in private. She bathes in the same manner and with the same ceremony as the king and in the same pond; but they cannot see each other for they each have their own end of the pond with a space covered in. She has ordinarily her ladies about her who pass the time for her." *

The queen who is the oldest female of the house according to the marumakkaththayam law, is the Ambadi Kovilakam Valia Thampuratti. If she is older than the Zamorin, he prostrates before her when he meets her: if however she happens to be younger she shows her respect to the Zamorin in the same way. §

The *jatakarmam*, *namakaranam* and *anna-prasanam* ceremonies are performed at the proper time for ~~the~~ both the males and the females alike. When they attain the fifth year of their age, they are placed under the Desamangalam Varier, the hereditary tutor, who gives them a good grounding in Sanskrit. The thampurans have to live separate from their mothers and sisters after their *chowlam* which is performed by the Zamorin himself. It is then that they are formally initiated in arms by the Zamorin presenting them with a sword and shield. Then they undergo an elaborate

Voyage of Pyrard de Laval—Vol. I p. 418.

§ *Buchanan's Journey through Mysore,*

Malabar and Canara—Vol. II p. 394.

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training in the use of weapons under the personal guidance of Dharmot Panikkar (ധർമ്മോത്തു പണിക്കർ), the hereditary preceptor-in-arms, till they become perfect in all the martial accomplishments.

For the thampurattis the *tiruthalikettu* (തിരുത്തലികെട്ടു) takes the place of the chowlam. In olden times when the Zamorin was a ruling chief this ceremony was performed separately and with great eclat for every thampuratti of this imperial house. It was the custom in those days for the distinguished person who was selected for this important function to become her consort after she attained puberty. The greatest care was taken in choosing a suitable person, who was generally a member of the Kshatriya ruling families. At first the royal husbands came from Bettet and Kurumbranad, the former the traditional ally of the Zamorin, the latter the traditional enemy of the Kolaththiri with whom the Zamorin had to wage war. When however in the seventeenth century Bettet was seduced by Perimpadappu and began to coquet with the national enemies, the Portuguese and the Dutch, the Parappanad and the Cranganore became the most favoured families in this respect. Situated in the Cochin frontier, Cranganore became so important an ally that it became the exception for the Zamorin's choice to fall upon any one outside that family. In course of time this hardened itself into a custom so much so the Dutch Governor,

Gollennesse, styles the Cranganore chief as the father of the Zamorin's family. It is this historial fact that is enshrined in the present unwritten law which prescribes a Cranganore thampuran as the only one eligible for the thalikettu ceremony, though the husbands of the thampurattis are now mostly Namutiris.

In those days no restriction was imposed on the freedom of the thampurattis to live with their husbands away from the palace at Calicut, if they were Kshatriyas; nor did they disdain to accept the gifts of lands and palaces lavishly bestowed upon them by their Kshatriya consorts. At the beginning of the 18th century there was an Ambadi Kovilakam on the site of the present Tiruvachchira palace. The place originally belonged to the Raja of Beypore and it must have been obtained as a gift from him. †

It is not known when the original Ambadi Kovilakam expanded into the three kovilakams of to-day. It could not have been due to over-crowding or increase in numbers. They must have come into existence as a result and sign of the Zamorin's extended might. In the heyday of their power it was both possible and necessary for each thampuratti to have a palace of her

* Galletti—*The Dutch in Malabar*—p. 55.

† "Here (Repoecoil or Beypore) the maternal house of the Zamorin reside", p. 65, *Letters from Malabar* by Canter Vlisscher.

own: and the Kizhakke Kovilakam, the Patinhare Kovilakam, and the Puthiya Kovilakam must have risen as the separate residences of sisters or cousins. The Kizhakke Kovilakam was built in Chintavalappu, and the Patinhare Kovilakam behind it to the west while the Puthiya Kovilakam stood near the Tali tank.

These palaces were consumed in the destructive fire of the Mysorean invasions. During the cataclysm of the Muhammadan occupation the thampurattis lived as honoured guests of Trippappur swarupam at Kun-nattur and Ennekkat near Mavelikkara. In 1792 Malabar was ceded by Tippu to the Company and the thampurattis returned from the land of their exile. As their original palaces had been desecrated and destroyed by the Mussalmans, no attempt was made to restore them. The Patinhare Kovilakam thampurattis and thampurans bought a plot of land at Mankavu and began to reside there. The members of the Puthiya Kovilakam in the same way began to live at Thiruvannur. But those who belonged to the Kizhakke Kovilakam gave up all idea of returning to Calicut. They already possessed a fort near the Venkata ferry called Venkata Kotta. It had been captured from the Vellatri by one Valiya Thampuran of that Kovilakam who accompanied the Zamorin in the wars with the Vellatri, and in appreciation of his services, the Zamorin had conferred it upon

Kizhakke Kovilakam. By sheer freak of chance, this fort had escaped from the iconoclastic fury of Tippu. This was converted into a palace and thus Kottakal became the seat of the Kizhakke Kovilakam.

The political pensions now given to the various sthanees and the cherikkals and devaswoms belonging to the sthanees below the Zamorin are as follows:—

<u>Title.</u>	<u>Malikhan per annum.</u>		
		Rs.	AS, PS.
The Zamorin	...	62452	0 0
„ Eralpad Raja	...	15000	0 0
„ Munalpad Raja	...	7000	0 d
„ Edaththralpad Raja	...	5000	0 0
„ Neduthralpad Raja (Mooththa Erady)	...	4500	0 0
Ambadi Kovilakam Valia Thampuratti		4000	0 0
Puthiya Kovilakam do. do. ...		9000	0 0
Patinhare do. do. do. ...		9000	0 0
Kizhakke do. do. do. ...		9000	0 0

Title.	Cherikkals.	Devaswoms.
Edaththral-	(1) Erumayur	Kaiththali
pad.	(2) Edaththaranad.	(near Pattambi)

Title.	Cherikkals.	Deváswoms.
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	1. Karamat (near Karimpuzha)	
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Munalpad	2. Panangatiri (near Kollengode)	
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	3. Vilayur	
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	4. Porkkalam (in the Cochin State)	
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	1. Thenkara (near Mannarghat)	1. Karimpuzha
--	----------------------------------	---------------

Eralpad	2. Karimpuzha	2. Mammiyur,
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	3. Vilayanchaththanur	
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	4. Paratty (in the Cochin State)	3 Peringotkavu
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CHAPTER III.

The origin of the Zamorins.

Legends and traditions constitute the chief, if not the sole, evidence for the origin and early history of peoples and dynasties. However wild and marvellous, they have all grown round some nucleus of historical fact. The superstructure of fiction may be large, the foundation of fact slender, and search for the truth baffling. Yet they are the dim but hopeful beginnings of history, the starting point of further investigation.

In Malabar they have a unique value of their own. Claims to territory and titles have been confidently advanced on no other evidence. And the first official survey of Malabar opens with a summary of the current traditions respecting the origin of the country and its historical vicissitudes. After describing the recovery of Keralam from the sea by Parasurama, the settlement of the Brahmins, and the institution of the Perumalship, the Joint Commissioners in their report refer to the invasion and repulse of Anagundi Krishna Rayar, "an event which is supposed to have happened a thousand years anterior to the present period which is not unimportant, since it is from about that epoch that all the present Rajahs and chief Nayars and other titled and principal landlords and landholders of Malabar trace their present rights and claims to sovereignty and proprietorship, all

which their present representatives do uniformly assert to have derived from the grant made to their respective ancestors by Shermanoo Permaloo aforesaid, who becoming, soon after the defeat of Kishen Rao's army, either tired of his situation (or from having, as is the vulgar belief) become a convert to Muhammadanism, and being thence desirous to visit Arabia, made before his departure a general division of all the Malabar country among the principal persons of the country.

“ It is the received opinion among the Malabars, that Shermanoo Permaloo was, just at the completion of the distribution of Malabar, applied to for some provision by Manavikirma, an Euree (or a person of the cowherd caste) who, with his brother, had, during the preceding warfare, come from their native town of Poondra (on the banks of the Cavay near Erode) to his assistance, and had proved the principal cause of his success against Raja Kishen Rao's army; upon which Shermanoo, having little or nothing else left, made a grant to him of the very narrow limits of his own place of abode at Calicut, and after having further bestowed on him his own sword and other ensigns of dignity, authorised and instructed him to extend his own dominions by arms over as much of the country as he should find desirable.” *

* *The Report of the Joint Commissioners*—pp. 2—3.

The stories of the *Keralolpathi* * are much fuller and more picturesque. It was compiled by the Nambutiris of the Zamorin's court; for the trend of the legends points unmistakably to their influence and redounds to their glorification, while the particular persons mentioned in the work makes it impossible to be written anywhere else. It belongs to the same period as the Portuguese writers, Barbosa, Albuquerque, and Camoens.

“ Incensed at the conduct of his vassal, Cheraman Perumal, who, instead of returning at the end of twelve years, permanently established himself in Malabar, Anagundi Krishna Rayar invaded the country. An assembly was at once called at Trikariyur (or Tirunava, yi) to concert measures for resisting the invader and the soldiers of the 17 nads were summoned. At the same time special worships were ordered throughout the land, and spies scoured the country to find a leader whose horoscope should indicate great victories. Three such persons were discovered—Karipat Udayavarman, the son of the Kshatriya woman, and Manichchan and Vikkiran, two Eradis of Puntura (എറട്ടൂർ). The astrologers pronounced the Eradis as the more fitted to lead the enterprise, and accordingly the Arya Brahmins were sent to bring them. When they came to Puntura they were informed that the lads were at school. Proceeding thither

they gave a full account of their mission to the Eradis and their teacher, Thoduvikkalath Unnikunara Nambiyar (തോടുവികളത്ത ഉണ്ണിക്കുമാരൻ നമ്പ്യാർ), and placed in their hands the written command of the Perumal and the assembly. In obedience to the royal summons they started, and on the way met the Azhvancheri Thamprakkal (അഴ്വഞ്ചേരി തമ്പ്രാക്കൾ), sitting with his face towards the east, under a tree, in the Natakavu at Venchala Paramba, with his palmyra sunshade by his side. When the Puntura lads and their tutor accosted him, he asked them whither they were bound. "We are going", said the tutor, "with the Brahmans sent by the great assembly to Trikariyur". "We are also going thither", said the Thamprakkal, "We shall help you to accomplish your object. Success shall crown your efforts". They had not gone far when they saw seven cows lying dead, surrounded by fourteen vultures. On approaching the scene, they found the vultures intent upon tearing and eating the flesh of one cow alone to the entire exclusion of the rest. "Why don't you even so much as touch the other six?", asked the Thamprakkal. One among them, a lame vulture, shed one of its quills, and picking it in its beak, placed it in the hands of the holy man. When he looked at the cows with the quill in his hand, he saw that the cow which was the object of their attention was the only one which had bred true. In the same manner when his eyes

were turned upon the Eradis (and the Nambiyar) he discovered that they had all the qualities and attributes of heroes. The Thamprakkal gave this magic quill, this ancient X-ray, to the Nambiyar and fully explained to him its meaning and use. The Eradis and the Nambiyar fell at his feet and after receiving his benediction, continued their journey. (On this account even now when the Kunnalakkonathiri (കുന്നലക്കോനാതിരി) meets the Thamprakkal, he should bow before him.

In due course they reached Trikariyur and respectfully asked of the Brahmins and the Perumal the cause of their summons. "Anagundi Krishna Rayar has invaded the country at the head of his troops. To expel him we have assembled here the nayars of 17 *nads*. * Go ye at their head and conquer", said the Perumal and the Brahmins with one voice.

* The 17 nads are:—

1. Tulunad (തൂലുനാട്).

2. Kolaththunad (കോളത്തുനാട്).

3. Polanad (പൊലനാട്).

4. Kurumbranad (കുറുമ്പ്രനാട്).

5. Puravazhinad (പുറവഴിനാട്).

6. Ernad (എറണാട്).

7. Parappunad (പരപ്പുനാട്).

8. Valluvanad (വള്ളുവനാട്).

9. Ravanad (രാവണനാട്).

10. Vettetnad (വെട്ടത്തുനാട്).

11. Tirumanasserinad (തിരുമനശ്ശേരിനാട്).

12. Perimpadappunad (പെരിമ്പടപ്പുനാട്).

13. Nedunganad (നെടുങ്ങനാട്).

14. Venganad (വേങ്ങനാട്).

15. Muringanad (മുരിങ്ങനാട്).

16. Onanad (ഓണനാട്).

17. Venanad (വേണനാട്).

One night when the soldiers were all fast asleep in the camp, the Eradis walked into their midst, and by means of the quill picked out from amongst them ten thousand heroes who were to lead in the attack. They received each a ring, and with the Eradis and the Nambiyar at their head joined battle in the right with the left wing of the enemy. The ministers of the Perumal, eleven of whom had joined the army, Patamala Nayar (പടമലനായർ) alone staying behind, fought in the left. These however fell back, while the right, sweeping the enemy before them, crossed into his territory and erected a fort. On their return the Perumal lavished rewards on them, each according to his rank and merit, commensurate with the greatness of their achievement.

According to another version of the Keralolpaththi, the Perumal was a lieutenant, not of Krishna Rayar, but of the Chola king, and he established himself permanently in Malabar with the full knowledge and consent of his suzerain. The Chola ascendancy, which resulted from this event, roused the jealousy of the Pandyan king, who invaded Malabar by way of the Anamalais, and secured his conquest by a fort at Taravur. The Perumal assembled a large army at Trikatamathilakam, but with all the courage and strength he could muster, he could not destroy the fort.

The Perumal was at his wit's end. Every day he supplicated his tutelary deity to save him from the calamity. While he was thus invoking divine help to second the efforts of his soldiers, two young men, hailing from Puntura, belonging to the Samanta (സാമന്ത) caste, descended from the Sun, arrived at Tirunavayi on their way from Rameswaram to Benares. There they fell into conversation with some Brahmins, who were among the trusted ministers of the Perumal, and learnt of the invasion of the Pandyas, the futile attempts of the Perumal to expel the intruders, and of the preparations that were being made for a last effort by sea. No sooner had the Brahmins finished their narrative than the youths, unable to contain themselves, exclaimed: "Send us with the army: we will destroy the fort". This offer reached the ears of the Perumal, who invited the youths to his palace. Assuring himself of their ability and skill by numerous tests, the Perumal sent them at the head of his 120 captains and 900,000 soldiers. To assist them Kizhur Unnikkumara Menon (കിഴൂർ ഉന്നിക്കുമാരമേനോൻ) and Varakkal Uravinkal Para Chankara Nambi (വരക്കൽ ഉറവിങ്കൽ പരാചങ്കരൻ), were deputed to look after the stores and accounts.

The youths selected, from the vast army placed under their command, ten thousand men distinguished for valour and strength and proficient in all the

eighteen weapons. The attack on the enemy was opened with thirty thousand men armed with bows and arrows (muskets and matches), with the chosen ten thousand supporting them. On the first day the battle raged till nightfall; many horses, elephants and soldiers of the enemy were killed, and his camp outside the wall was forced. At night the Eradis surrounded the fort, the ten thousand taking their station at the northern gate. At last, after a strenuous fighting, which lasted for three days and nights, they expelled the foe, and seized the fort. Elated with the victory of the Samantas, the Perumal summoned the elder to his presence, and seating him in his lap, put on his leg the "anklet of the heroes", and installed him as his heir at Calicut. The ten thousand nayars were settled in Polanad, the wealthiest part of his dominions. One division of them was settled at Edakkazhinad, another at Iringadikot, and the most notable among the ten thousand at Calicut itself. The youths then resumed their interrupted pilgrimage and left Chitrakutam for Benares.

Some time after the repulse of Krishna Raya (the Pandyan king), the Perumal took the momentous decision of going on *haj*, after dividing his kingdom among his relatives and feudatories. By the time the Eradis returned from Benares, the Perumal had already disposed of his empire

and made every arrangement for his departure. He was bidding his last farewell to his faithful followers and ministers, when Vikraman and Mangat Unnikumara Menon (Manichchan, it is said, fell fighting against the Raya) appeared before him. The sight of their face filled the Perumal's mind with regret that he had practically left them out in the cold after all their yeoman service to him and the country. He wished they had come earlier when he could have shown the full measure of his esteem. 'The desam where the cock crows,' said he, "and the thorny jungle still remain in my hands. That I shall give ye". "That will do", said the youth. Thereupon with the Vellatri for a witness he gave ~~them~~ ^{him} as a poured-out gift, the desam where the cock crows, the thorny jungle, and his sword of state, with the injunction "Strike, slay, and seize". He also conferred upon him full suzerainty over all Kerala. "In this Malanad," said the Perumal, "Thou shalt be I, exercising all the rights and privileges of sovereignty. Rulest thou as emperor in the land surrounded by the sea from Comorin to Gokarnam". Alarmed at the free rein thus given to the all-consuming ambition of the fiery youth, the Vellatri begged for some protection for himself. The Perumal thereupon divested himself of his shield, and gave it to the Vellatri with the words 'Defend thyself'. At the same time he forbade Manavikraman to attack the Venad Adigal and the Kolaththiri.

Katancheri, in his *Mamakam kilipat* (മാമാക്കം കിലിപ്പാട്ട്) written at the end of the seventeenth century, does not mention the war nor does he refer to the conversion of the Perumal to Islam. At the request of the Nambutiris, Cherāman was confirmed as king by his suzerain. Growing old the Perumal resolved to retire from the world, and took counsel with the chief men of the realm as to what should be done for the future governance of the country. A partition of the kingdom was decided upon as the best course and the whole of Kerala was divided among his sons, relatives, and other nobles. To his most devoted follower he had nothing more to give than the "hen-coop desam". Seeing the look of dissatisfaction in his eyes he added to this gift, his sword, the sacred door-panel (പഞ്ചമം ഓടി), and supremacy over Kerala *

* മുഖ്യജനോത്തമനാകിയചേരമാൻ
 സർവ്വചിരക്തി വന്നാശു മോക്ഷാർത്ഥിയായി
 മുതൃവടുത്തതറിഞ്ഞു കർമ്മക്ഷിതി
 നിത്യമമ്പോടു മേലിൽ ഭരിച്ചിടുവാൻ
 പൃഥ്വിസുരാദ്ധ്യക്ഷരോടുനിരൂപിച്ചു
 പത്രമിത്രാമാത്യുട ന്നാദികൾക്കെല്ലാം
 പ്രത്യേകമൊക്കെപകത്തുനൽകിടിനാൻ
 ഭദ്രാത്മനാതപസ്സിന്നൊരുവെട്ടുതാൻ
 വിദൂതംയാത്രഭാവിച്ചു നില്ക്കുംവിയെഴു
 വർത്തമാനങ്ങൾ കേട്ടെത്തിനാൻതല്ലഭ
 ഭക്തിമുഴുത്തേഴും പുത്തൂരാരൻദൂതം
 തൽപദഭക്തിനു സതക്കരിച്ചിടുവാൻ

A popular rhyme describes the Perumal's gifts as consisting of
otinha valum, utanha samkhum,
ulnadum ullanadum. †

The *otinha Val* (ഒടിഞ്ഞ വാൾ) was the sword of state. It was so wrought that it could be tied round the waist. No tyro could manipulate it; it required, on the other hand, the highest skill in swordsmanship to use it effectively against an enemy. The *utanha samkhu*

അല്ലമെന്നാകിലുമൊന്നുകൊണ്ടായ്കയാക
 കക്കടക്കൊടരക്രോശമാത്രംതന്നി
 കൈക്കൊടുത്തു ശേഷിച്ചുള്ളതിനെയും
 സർക്കരിച്ചാദരോലാനനാംഭോജന
 മുൾക്കുറിവുറയ്ക്കുക്കുഞ്ചാത്തുള്ളിനാൻ
 തുറപ്പിച്ചന്നില്ലിതുകൊണ്ടിവന്നെന്നറിഞ്ഞു
 മാനസമേതുമൊഴുകിനില്ലായ്വി
 മാനപധികൃമളപതേകേൾക്കുകൊ

നമ്മുടെമണ്ഡലാഗ്രത്തെയും നൽകവൻ
 ചെമ്മെന്തു പമിന്നങ്ങളും
 പള്ളിവാളും പള്ളിമാരാടിയും
 കന്നൊറ്റകൊട്ട പുതുപ്പട്ടണത്തോളം
 എന്നുമഖലാഞ്ചിനാഥനായിവാഴുകനി.

ഉള്ളൊടൊടിഞ്ഞൊരുടവാളുമുടഞ്ഞശഃഖം
 ഉള്ളൊരുനാടുമുളനാടുമിരങ്ങുനാലും
 നല്ലൊരുനന്ദിയൊടവർക്കുകൊടുത്തതായി
 ദില്ലൊപഴകുമയറിഞ്ഞവർചൊല്ലിടുന്നു.

(കുഞ്ഞുക്കുട്ടൻതമ്പുരാൻ — കേരളം pp. 103—104).

(ഉടഞ്ഞ ശംഖ) was the broken conch, which had the miraculous power of blowing itself without human agency at the beginning of the fourth quarter of the night, when the Zamorin had to get up and address himself to his daily duties. The story runs, that it lost this divine property by being defiled by the touch of a woman in her periods, and it was consequently thrown into the sea. *Ulnadu* (ഉലനാടു) and *Ullanadu* (ഉല്ലനാടു) were the personal attendants of the Perumal, the "lords of his bed-chamber". *Ullanadu* (ഉല്ലനാടു) was the land that still remained with him, that is, Calicut and the 'thorny jungle'.

The Portuguese writers tell us more or less the same story, but they look upon the Zamorin as a nephew of the Perumal. "The Perumal", says Duarte Barbosa, divided his kingdom among his kinsfolk into several portions as it yet is, for before that time all Malabar was one kingdom. He went on making this partition in such a manner that when he had given a certain land to any person, he forthwith left it never to return thither. And at last having given away all, and going to take ship from an uninhabited strand (where now is the town of Calicut) and accompanied by more Moors than heathen, *he took with him a nephew who served him as his page* to whom he gave this piece of land telling him to settle and inhabit it.

He then gave him his sword and lamp which he carried with him as a matter of state, and left a charge to all the kings and lords to whom he had given lands that they should obey and honour him, save only the kings of Cananor and Coulam whom he made independent, Thus he left in Malabar three kings free one of another. but none was to coin money except *his nephew who was afterwards the king of Calcut*".

The Dutch, writing two centuries later, regard the Zamorin as a son of the Perumal. "The Perumal," * says Canter Visscher, who was the Chaplain of Cochin from 1717 to 1723, "assigned the kingdom of the Zamorin to his illegitimate children who according to the law could not inherit". "The kingdom of Travancore, of the Zamorin and of Colastry", says Governor Moens, † "he gave to his three illegitimate sons, but the kingdom of Cochin to his sister's son, the natural or the nearest heir to the kingdom according to the Malabar rule of succession".

A *granthavari* preserved in Cochin states that the ancestor of the Zamorin was the son of the last Perumal. "The Nediyruppu swarupam", it runs, "were the sons of the Cheraman Perumal who adopted the *Bauddha dharma*. They were born to him before he

* *Letters from Malabar*—p. 50.

† Galletti—*The Dutch in Malabar*— p. 104.

adopted it. On the eve of his departure for Mecca, he gave Calicut to them with the sword and robe of office".

The *granthavari* of the Zamorin's office, compiled in 1810, gives the following account of the partition of Malabar:— "The last of the Perumals of Kerala, named Cheraman Perumal, becoming disgusted with the pleasures of this world in his old age, resolved to seek salvation by abdicating all kingly authority and renouncing all kingly enjoyments. After dividing Kerala into a number of *nads* and setting up over each a ruler with all royal honours and authority, he was about to depart on his great pilgrimage, when all the great Brahmins of Kerala and others of his subjects appeared before him and entreated him not to leave the kingdom. If he left the kingdom, they said, there would be no one to protect them, and by the substitution of many rulers for one ruler all their grievances would not be fully redressed, as the evils of having many kings in the land were only too well known to him. If however his resolution was irrevocable they begged of him not to depart till after he had himself installed over all the petty rulers as emperor, with every power, honour, and dignity, belonging to his high position, one who would punish them if they oppressed, who would maintain truth and *dharma* in the land, and who himself possessed all the kingly virtues of truth, courage, honour, and knowledge.

"On enquiries it was found that the two brothers, Manavikraman and Manavedan, possessed all these qualities, and had further earned considerable experience in punishing the wicked and protecting the righteous by long service under the Perumal himself. Accordingly, Manvikraman, the elder of the two, was crowned in the presence of the Perumal with the consent of all the people as emperor by the Brahmins (headed by him who had performed the sacrifice known as *Samrat*, on whom Parasurama and the Brahmins of the sixty four villages had conferred the title of Azhvancheri Thamprakkal), and given the sword of state, the "anklet of the heroes and the palace of Calicut. After investing Manavedan as elamkur and enjoining upon Manavikraman to rule the country in accordance with the rules of *dharma* with the assistance of the chief ministers, the Perumal started on his great journey."

In the *Agnivamsacharita*, written by Vidwan Ettan Thampuram, the Zamorin who died at Pallippuram in 1915, we have a different version of the partition of the kingdom. The retiring Perumal gave to Manavikraman, as the reward for his services against the national enemy, the town of Srikandhapuram and the country round it—the present Irikandiyur and Vettetnad. But Manavikraman immediately handed it over to the ancestor of the Vettet family in fulfilment of a promise he had made to him. The Perumal was struck with his vassal's scrupulous regard for the

plighted word, and in his joy and admiration gave him his sword of state.

It is very difficult to pick out the historical elements that lie embedded in this vast mass of inconsistent legends. Certain incidents however have a *prima facie* claim to be regarded as historical facts for they find a place in all the different versions. The greatest common factor may not unreasonably be taken as representing the minimum of truth.

The whole of Kerala once obeyed the authority of a single ruler styled Cheraman Perumal. He ruled the seventeen nads that comprised his empire through hereditary governors. As the result of a powerful religious impulse he resolved to abdicate. He had no lawful heir on whom he could lay the burden of state. Before his retirement he provided for the future government of the country by investing the provincial governors with the power and dignity of independent kings over the territories they had formerly ruled under him.

The ancestors of the Zamorin were the governors of Ernad. Their family seat was Nediyruppu and the head of the family was known as the Ernad Utayavar (എറണാകുളം ഉടയവർ). He was a feudatory of the first rank, having no less than 30,000 nayars under his command. He was the son either of the last Perumal or more probably his immediate predecessor by *sambandham*. His rank and relationship entitled him

to a high place in the empire. He also deserved it by his ability. He saved the country by expelling the foreign invader whom the Perumal himself had failed to dislodge. So when he made him king of Ernaḍ, he also gave him as a mark of his regard his sword of state and a piece of territory along the coast known as Calicut, then overgrown with morass and jungle. But unfortunately this sword was lost at Cranganore in 1670*, in a conflagration raised by the Dutch during a night raid. The sword that is now worshipped in the Zamorin's palace as the Cheraman sword† was forged out of fragments collected from the spot where the original sword had been kept at the time of the fire.

The date of this important event in the history of Kerala is still a puzzle. According to the Sanskrit chronograms§ the swarupams of Nediyruppu and Perumpadappu were founded in 324–25 A. D. and the rule of the Perumal came to an end in 342 A.D. This is supported by another chronogram which shows

* *The Zamorin's Granthavari*—No. 27.

† See frontispiece in Logan—*Malabar Manual*—Vol. I.

§ *de-va-lo-ke-sa-ra-jyam* (ദേവലോകേശരാജ്യം) and *re-vi-lo-ke-sa-ra-jyam* (രവിലോകേശരാജ്യം) give the day of the Kaliyuga on which these kingdoms were founded and *bhu-vi-bhagah* (ഭൂവിഭാഗം) gives the Kali year for the partition of the empire.

the Zamorin as already independent in 564 A.D.* In this year certain Nambutiris of Panniyur defiled the temple of Varahamurthi. For this mad crime their co-villagers imposed upon them a heavy fine of 23,000 fanams and excommunicated them for a period of thousand years by degrading them into *Moossads*. Rather than live with them in the same village, the orthodox Nambutiris then left the place. The sentence upon the guilty minority was carried out by the Zamorin as the protector of the Brahmins and the patron of Panniyur-*kur*, in return for which he was given the lands comprising the Manyalur cherikkal (മഞ്ഞളർ ചെറിക്കൽ). For a long time after the expiry of the thousand years for which they had been condemned these *Moossads* were not able to re-enter the Nambutiri fold. At last Trikkovil Soolapani Varier (തൃക്കോവില ശുദ്ധപാണിവാരിയർ) paid their fine, and they were restored to the privileges of their original caste from 1st Chingam 935 M. E. (1759 A.D.) ‡.

We have no evidence to corroborate these dates. Three deeds † of the Perumal period have come down to us: the first records a grant to the Jews, the second to the Christians, and the third to Tarisapalli. Local astronomers working on the data supplied in the second

* *Chi-ththa-cha-la-nam* (ചിത്തച്ചാലനം) gives the Kali year in which the sacrilege at Panniyur took place.

‡ *The Zamorin's Granthavari*—No. 27.

† *Logan—Malabar Manual*—Vol. II pp. cxv—cxxii.

deed assign it to 230 A. D., and the first and the third to 168 A.D. and 311 A. D. respectively. Kanakasabhai regards the first deed as belonging to 192 A.D.* These deeds, even if the dates assigned to them are correct, do not go far; they prove nothing more than the Perumals were ruling at Cranganore as late as 311 A. D., a date not inconsistent with the chronograms.

But other dates have been suggested for the deeds which are fatal to the chronograms. Burnell places the first deed in the first quarter of the eighth century, the second in its third quarter, "the year 774 A. D. being the only possible date", and the third in the first quarter of the ninth century. Accepting Burnell's conclusions, Bishop Caldwell says:—† "The date of these documents is probably not later than the ninth century A. D. nor earlier than the seventh, for the technical terms of the solar-sidereal chronology (derived from the *Suriya Siddhanta* of Aryabhatta) which are employed in these inscriptions were not introduced till the seventh century".

Logan regards the Perumal's departure * as the political event connected with the Kollam

* *Tamils eighteen hundred years ago*—p. 59.

† *Comparative Grammar*—p. 89.

* *Malabar Manual*—Vol. I pp. 155—58, 231, 243, 276.

or Malayalam era. Other explanations equally plausible have been offered as to the origin of this era, and the difference in the commencement of the year in the southern and northern portions of Kerala. It marks, it is said, the acquisition of independence by the southern and northern Kolaththiris; according to another theory it denotes the date on which Sankaracharya's doctrines were promulgated.

But the era seems to be astronomical rather than political in origin. * The first day of the Kollam era corresponds to the first day of the third cycle of Parasurama. This cycle consists of 1000 years, and the first year of the first cycle was 1176 B. C. The second cycle began in 176 B. C., the third in 824 A. D. and the fourth ought to have begun in 1824 A. D. and the calendar revised accordingly. But by that time the original meaning of the era had been lost sight of and the princes of Kerala had lost their independence. The difference in the reckoning of the year was due to the different methods employed by the astrologers at Quilon and Calicut.

The authority of the chronograms is also undermined by the evidence of the *Periya Puranam*.

* Warren—*Kalasankalita*—p. 374.

Cunningham—*Book of Indian Eras*—p. 33.

Sundaram Pillai—*The Indian Antiquary*—Vol. xxvi: 1897.

Sangunny Menon—*History of Travancore*—p. 89.

Day—*The Land of the Perumals*—p. 378.

Buchanan—*Journey through Mysore, Malabar and Canara*—Vol. II p. 356.

According to this work, there were Perumals at Tiruvanchikkulam, the ancient Chera capital, as late as the time of Sundaramurthi Nayanar, the famous Saiva saint of Tiruvalur. Cheraman Perumal Nayanar, the ruler of Vanchi, and Sundaramurthi were not only contemporaries but friends. As Sundara flourished in the latter half of the seventh century, the disruption of Kerala could not have taken place before.

It is probable that Cheraman Perumal Nayanar was the last of the Perumals. Even before he came to the throne, he had taken the vow of celibacy. As the rule of succession among the Cheras was from father to son, the Perumal and his ministers might have thought to provide against anarchy and civil war which was inevitable in the absence of a visible and legitimate heir by dividing the kingdom among the great feudatories of the empire.

CHAPTER IV.

The conquest of Polanad and the rise of Calicut.

The conquest of Polanad, comprising the core of the present Calicut taluk, was the first stage in the expansion of the Zamorin's power. Under the Perumals the governor of Polanad was a commander of 10,000. The abdication of the Perumal raised him to the

rank of an independent king* and he assumed the title of Porlathiri or lord of Polanad.

At the beginning of the eleventh century war broke out between the Porlathiri and the Zamorin. For a long time the Zamorin had been feeling the disadvantages of his position. Ernad was cut off from the sea by the kingdoms of Arangot, Vettet, and Parappunad. Every day these rulers were growing in wealth and strength from their trade with the merchants of China and Arabia. He had no place on the sea-coast except the marshy ground on the northern bank of the Kallayi river, which the bounty of the Perumal had conferred upon him. He began to develop it into a port by draining the swamps and clearing the jungle. The Porlathiri scented danger in these activities of the Zamorin. He began to molest the workmen on the river bank. Raids were answered by counter-raids, and at last the Porlathiri was attacked in his own capital.

The capture of the fort was by no means easy. For forty years the nayars of the Zamorin hurled themselves against this fort, but to no purpose. But the endurance of the Polanad nayars began to give way. Faction raised its head. Tired of the struggle, the disaffected met the Zamorin at Perimpulakkal (പെരുംപുലക്കൽ) and promised to remain neutral.

Success still seemed far away. The Porlathiri and the men who remained still loyal to him fought with desperate valour. Treason however made its appearance within the citadel itself. The mistress of the Porlathiri joined in an unholy and unnatural alliance with his minister to sell the fort to the enemy. The former was given four elephants, 40,000 fanams and the title of the "head of the four houses of Chalapuram" for herself and the title of Calicut Governor (Kozhikkot Thalachchannavar) with the command of 5000 for the eldest male of her house. The latter received the title of Ernad Menon and the command of the other 5000 of Polanad. True to their engagement, the traitors opened the gates of the fort and admitted the Zamorin's nayars. The Porlathiri fled to Kolati (കോളി) with his only sister. A prince of the Kolaththiri took her to wife and settled her in Kadaththanad. In this way the Kadaththanad family came into existence. According to a chronogram this took place in 1042 A. D. *

The privileges enjoyed by the 10,000 under the Porlathiri were recognised and confirmed by the Zamorin who swore to maintain the ancient customs of the land in all their entirety. Some time afterwards misunderstandings arose; the Ernad Menon and the Calicut Thalachchannavar became leaders of rival parties. It seemed as though their quarrels would lead to civil

* കോളിനാഥനായനാഥൻ.

war and the 10,000 would kill themselves in their intestine broils. But the astute ministers of the Zamorin effected a reconciliation, and the Polanad nayars were once more united in a common allegiance.

The Zamorin transferred his residence to Calicut in the immediate vicinity of the newly conquered country. Various explanations have been suggested for the name of Kozhikot (കോഴിക്കോട്), of which Calicut is a corruption. It is generally taken to mean the cock-fort. According to the Keralolpaththi * it means the 'land where the cock crows'. Logan interprets it as the *desam* so small that a cock crowing could be heard all over it. § Perhaps this idea was suggested by the statement of Canter Visscher. "This town", says the Dutch Chaplain, § "is called by the natives *Karee-kovre*, which signifies hencoop. The reason they give for this name is that, when Cheramperumal divided his kingdom, he gave to the Zamorin for his share only so much land as the sound of a cock crowing from its perch could be heard over". Mr Thorne rejects this as too fanciful; he is inclined to think that the *Kozhi* or fowl may be some sort of totem. "*Kozhi* (which means fowl rather than cock)," says he †, "is

* p. 73.

§ Logan—*Malabar Manual*—Vol. I p. 241.

§ *Letters from Malabar*—p. 21.

† *Book of Duarte Barbosa*—Vol. II p. 86—note.

curiously common in proper names in South Malabar, e. g. Kozhisseri (fowl-village), Kozhiprath (a big tarwad near Calicut). Can it be that the fowl was some sort of totem? Possibly a connection can be traced with the cock festival at Cranganore (Kodungallore) to which pilgrims go, carrying fowls from every part of Malabar". Mr. Thorne seems to have fallen in the same error as his predecessors of reading into the word a meaning which it does not bear. Most of the Dravidian place-names are formed from the geographical features of the village, its special fauna or flora, by adding the suffix *kadu* (കാടു) or forest, *oor* (ഊർ), *cheri*, (ചേരി) or *seri* (ശേരി), and *kodu* (കൂടു) or habitation. Thus we have Palakkadu, Erumayur or the village of buffaloes, Kattusseri or the village in the forest, Pannikkodu or the village of pigs. Kozhikkotu means the place where fowl (most probably sea-fowl) abounded. This derivation is in keeping with the Sanskrit equivalent *kukkuta-krodu* or *kodaram*.

All traditions agree in saying that, when it came into the possession of the Zamorin it was barren and desolate, and the city was founded afterwards. Barboza calls it "an uninhabited strand," and says that its rapid rise was due to the settlement of the Muhammadans. "This partition made," says he, * "the old man took ship and the nephew who stayed on that shore

* *Book of Duarte Barbosa* Vol. II. pp. 5-6.

founded a city to which he gave the name of Calicut and the Moors, in memory of the embarkation of the Indian King there on his way to become a Moor, began to take cargoes of pepper there before any other place, and so the trade of Calicut went on increasing, the city became great and noble, and the king made himself the greatest and most powerful of all in Malabar, and they called him Camidre which is a distinction above others". De Barros suggests another reason. It was the centre of the pepper and ginger trade.

Many circumstances contributed to the rapid rise of Calicut. Situated at the mouth of the Kallayí river it offered excellent anchorage to the shipping of those days. The fertile hinter-land of Polanad produced plenty of pepper and ginger, while through the Kallayi river were brought down the rich products of Ernad. Calicut was besides the capital of a kingdom and as such frequented by merchants. Lastly, the Zamorin was noted above all other rulers for his honesty and honour. Old folk still tell us stories of how the Zamorin obtained the name of *satyasandhan*, and the Chettis and the Arabs came to settle at Calicut.

" A merchant (Chetti) from the East Coast who had been on a trading voyage to Mecca reached Calicut with a ship overloaded (it is said) with gold. The ship was about to sink in consequence, and the merchant

brought it close in shore at Calicut, took out a box of treasure, laid it before the Zamorin, and told his story. The Zamorin directed him to bring the treasure ashore, and to store it in his palace. The merchant accordingly built (it is said) a granite cellar in the king's house and deposited therein as much of the treasure as could not be conveniently taken away in his ship. He then sailed for his own country, and after a time returned to Calicut, opened the cellar in the presence of the Zamorin, counted out the treasure, and finding it correct, divided it into two portions and offered the Zamorin one half of it. But the Zamorin replied, "I do not want your treasure, you may take away the whole". The Chetti, "being convinced that this was the most truthful of all kings and swarupams (dynasties)" then asked and obtained permission to trade at Calicut. In this way the bazaar was founded. The Chetti's name was Ambaresan and the cellar erected by him in the Kovitakam bears even to this day the name of *Ambaresankett*.

"After this, it is said, the men of the port began to make voyages to Mecca in ships, and Calicut became the most famous (port) in the world for its extensive commerce, wealth, country, town, and king.

"Yet another tradition is also preserved. It runs, that in the town of Muscat two sons were born to a Muhammadan; after they had grown up, the father

addressed the elder of the two sons saying:—"After my death you two will fight with each other. The other will kill you. Both of you should not be in the same place. You had better go to some land and pass your days." Thus the father sent away the elder son in a ship. He visited various countries and laid presents before their respective sovereigns. The present consisted of pickle-boxes full of gold and he used to represent to each king whose honesty he wished to test that the box only contained pickles. All the kings he visited on discovering what the boxes really contained concealed the fact and appropriated the gold, but at last the experiment was tried on the Zamorin, and the Zamorin at once called him up and said, "You mistook one thing for another. This is not pickles, but gold". The traveller thereupon concluded that here at last was a trustworthy king and so he settled down at Calicut**.

The following story about the coming of the Mooththans or money-changers points to the same moral. Expelled from their original homes on the banks of the Cauvery for refusing to allow their king to marry a daughter of their caste, they resolved henceforth to set up their abodes only in the land of a ruler who proved to be a person both of intelligence

* Logan—*Malabar Manual*—Vol. p. 278.

The Keralolpaththi pp. 86—90.

and honour. So they filled pots of copper with gold dust with a layer of sugar at the top to cover the precious metal, and took them to the various rulers of South India, accompanying their presents with a request for lands and protection. Unfortunately they did not observe the etiquette of the court, but sat, as was their habit, before they were asked in the very presence of the king. The kings became angry both with their paltry present and their impertinent manners. The Zamorin however received their gifts and promised them protection. He was not of course pleased with the Mooththans for taking their seat before him, which was both inconsistent with their role of suppliants seeking a favour and contrary to all rules of decorum. Suspecting some hidden purpose he caused the pots to be examined, and when he found that they were full of gold, not of sugar, his doubts became a certainty. He became eager to know why they behaved in such an uncourtly fashion. Next day he summoned them to his presence. But before they came, he had caused the audience chamber to be defiled with dirt and dung throughout its entire length so that they could not sit. But the Mooththans were not put out. They spread their upper garments on the floor and sat upon them. The Zamorin then understood that it was an ancient custom with them. And pleased with their respect for the custom of the ancestors which made them defy the ordinary rules of etiquette and even exposed them to

suffering and loss, he ordered the Eralpad to take them under his special protection. They were settled at Mangat, and the first time the Eralpad went to Mangat after his accession, the Mooththans used to wait upon him with six measures full of fanams.

Besides these popular stories, we have the unimpeachable evidence of travellers to prove the exceptional courtesy of the Zamorin towards foreigners and the security they enjoyed in his dominions. It was the invariable practice of the other princes of the land to plunder any ship that might be driven by stress of weather into their port. "But at Calicut", says Abdur Razaak (1442), "every ship, whatever place it may come from, or wherever it may be bound, when it puts into this port, is treated like other vessels and has no trouble of any kind to put up with..... Security and justice are so firmly established in the city that the most wealthy merchants bring thither from maritime countries considerable cargoes, which they unload and unhesitatingly send into the markets and bazaar without in the meantime of any necessity of checking the account or of keeping watch over the goods. The officers of the custom-house take upon themselves the charge of looking after the merchandise over which they keep watch day and night. When a sale is effected they levy a duty on the goods of one fortieth part; if they are not sold, they make no

charges on them". One restriction alone was imposed, "One thing alone is forbidden namely to kill a cow or eat its flesh; whosoever should be discovered slaughtering or eating one of these animals would be immediately punished with death".*

The Frenchman, Pyrard de Laval, who lived in Calicut from June 1607 to February 1608, was again impressed by the security and liberty accorded to foreigners. "Calicut", says he, § "is the busiest and most full of all traffic and commerce in the whole of India; it has merchants from all parts of the world, and of all nations and religions by reason of liberty and security accorded to them there; for the king permits the exercise of every religion, and yet it is strictly forbidden to talk, dispute, or quarrel on that subject, so that there never arises any contention on that score, every one living in great liberty of conscience under the favour or authority of the king, who holds that to be a cardinal maxim of government with a view to making his kingdom very rich and of great intercourse". He who started any disturbance on that account was given a sound whipping. The same traveller thus speaks of the arrangements made for the safe keeping of merchandise. "The *Alfandique* is a great square-building of stone with galleries above and below, and

* Major—*India in the fifteenth century*—pp. 13—14, 19.

§ *Voyage of Pyrard de Laval*—Vol. I p. 404.

vaulted with stone arcades, like those of our *place royale*, but not so grand or so elegant, with a large number of rooms and warehouses for keeping all the different sorts of goods separate. Over the door is written the name of the goods kept in each warehouse; an officer of the king has one key while the owner of the goods has another, and neither can enter without the other. The goods remain there till they have paid the dues and the customs, and the exports have to pay as well as imports". * "Being a free port", says Canter Visscher † "Calicut is frequented by various races." This policy of toleration combined with firm rule and impartial justice, pursued from the very start and persisted into the very end enabled Calicut to throw into the shade more ancient ports like Quilon, Cranganore, and Eli.

CHAPTER V.

The war with the Vellatri.

Valluwanad was one of the seventeen *nads* of Kerala. Its governor or *utayavar* was, like the ancestor of the Zamorin, a *samanta* by caste, and a commander of 30,000. In Perumal Bhaskara Ravi-varman's grant to the Jews this chieftain appears under the name of Rayaran Chaththan (രാജരൻ ചാത്തൻ)‡. On the abdication of Cheraman Perumal he became an

* *Ibid* p. 364.

† *Letters from Malabar* p. 21.

‡ Logan—*Malabar Manual*—Vol. II p. cxvi.

independent king under the title of *Valluvakonathiri* (വല്ലവകോനാതിരി) and *Arangot Swarupam* (അറങ്ങോട്ടു സ്വരൂപം). He was popularly known as the *Vellatri Raja*.

From the Keralolpaththi it would appear that the seeds of the war between Nediyruppu and Arangot had been sown by Cheraman Perumal himself. When he gave his sword to the Zamorin with the permission to fight and conquer, he gave at the same time his shield to Valluvakonathiri to defend himself against his powerful neighbour.

A more convincing explanation of the origin of this war is to be found in the *kur-matsaram* (കുറു മത്സരം) or party strife which kept Malabar divided into two hostile camps. The two parties took their names from Panniyur (പന്നിയൂർ) and Chovaram (ചോവരം), two of the sixty four Brahman settlements founded by the mythical hero, Parasurama.

The cause of the quarrel between these Brahman villages, which gradually spread and lay like an incubus upon the country, is not definitely known. One tradition invokes the shade of Cheraman Perumal as the originator of this dissension. "Regarding the origin of these two parties", says Canter Visscher,* "I find

* *Letters from Malabar*—pp. 49—51.

two different accounts, which are not unworthy of record. Some will have it that the great Cherumperoumal, who partitioned Malabar and made laws for it which are still observed, instituted them for two important reasons, the first of which was to confirm the distribution of kingdoms that he had made; for, being about to undertake a journey, either to the Ganges in fulfilment of a vow, or, as the Moors say, to visit Mahomet in Arabia for the purpose of embracing his religion, he divided among his favourites the whole of Malabar. Now, he assigned the kingdom of the Zamorin to his illegitimate children who, according to the law, could not inherit: and it was natural to suppose that this would cause umbrage to his nephews who were the lawful heirs of the crown, and to whom he had only given the kingdom of Cochin. They would probably use every endeavour to recover their rights when opportunity offered. For this reason he originated these two parties, and he regulated the number of princes, noblemen, etc., who should belong to each, with the express command that if a king, prince, or landowner, should be attacked by a prince of the opposite faction, he should be assisted by all the members of his own party, under pain of loss of privileges. The Zamorin king was appointed chief of Pandelakoer (Panniyur-kur), and received a sword in token of his authority; and the king of Cochin as the chief of the Chodderakoers (Chovarakur) received a shield, Cheramperoumal's second reason for establishing

these factions was to create a martial spirit: lest, living in perpetual peace, the Malabar people should sink into effeminacy and thus become a prey to the surrounding nations.

.....,.....

“The other tradition is that there were formerly two families, possessors of two pagodas. The name of the one was *Pandel*, that of the other *Choddar*; and the former being the strongest and most powerful, attacked the latter and plundered them, until the Choddars implored help from the prince of Walwonatti (Valluwanad) in order to revenge themselves on the Pandels. These now being unable to withstand their enemies alone, conspired with the Zamorin against them; and thus drove them to apply in their turn to the king of Cochin, who consequently became the head of the Choddar party, while the Zamorin assumed the character of the protector of the Pandels. Each of these monarchs enticed others to espouse their causes, and the dissensions thus originating have descended to posterity”.

There is no doubt these two villages were very powerful even as early as the days of the Perumals. They appear as attestors along with Ernad and Valluwanad, in Vira Raghava Chacravarti's grant to the Syrian Christians. * Chovaram still continues to be a

centre of the Nambutiris: the name of every Nambutiri who has performed a sacrifice has to be registered in the books of the pagoda of Dakshinamurthi, the presiding deity of the place. Panniyur, about six miles from Chovaram, has now fallen completely in ruin. There is now only a small temple of Vishnu worshipped in his incarnation of 'pig'. The cause of its ruin was not its rivalry with its neighbour, but certain acts of sacrilege committed by some of its members. Having adopted one of the numerous forms of heresy current in South India, they proceeded to expel Varahamurthi by defiling his temple and placing a red-hot cauldron on the head of his image. For this the orthodox majority cursed and excommunicated them and left the village altogether.

The *kur-matsaram* had its origin in connection with the temple of Dakshinamurthi. Panniyur prided itself on the number of its illoms (3000 in number), in its wealth and religiosity. Chovaram was famous for its learning and culture. To outstrip their neighbours, Panniyur resolved to worship Dakshinamurthi. While the ceremony of installation was in progress, certain enterprising spirits of the opposite village succeeded in secreting the *lingam* and taking it to their village. It was an outrage which Panniyur at the height of its fame and power could not tolerate. Chovaram was sacked and burnt. The vanquished sought the help of Arangot and Perumpadappu, whereupon Panniyur appealed to Nediyruppu. As the Nambutiris enjoyed considerable

influence as priests and consorts of the thampurattis, they succeeded ere long in dragging almost every chief into the vortex of their party strife.

In course of time the Nambutiris succeeded in making up their differences. Except in certain customs in the mode of tying the cloth, wearing the caste mark, and dressing vegetables, all traces of their ancient animosity have disappeared from amongst them. But the fission which it created among the kings and chiefs lasted till friend and foe alike were compelled to bend under the yoke of the Mussalman invaders from the other side of the Ghats. The war-spirit sometimes lay dormant and inactive; at other times it stalked through the land in all its hideous fury.

It was as the result of one of these periodical outbreaks that the Vellatri was expelled from Tirunavayi, and the Zamorin took upon himself the duty of protecting the great sanctuary and conducting the *mamamkam* festival. The war was protracted and bitter. It was at last decided by the fall of the Vellatri. The person of a ruling chief was sacrosanct according to the customs of Malabar. If he was slain in battle his bodyguard took a terrible revenge which came to an end only with their death or the death of their adversary. In accordance with this rule of vendetta, the subjects of the Vellatri from this time onward used to take advantage

of every opportunity to make an attempt on the Zamorin's life, and at the great *mamamkam* festival they came with the avowed purpose of killing him and found death by rushing on the pikes of his guards.

The Rajas of Vettet and Tirumanasseri took an active part in this war. The Raja of Vettet was a Kshatriya, and till the sixteenth century was the right hand man of the Zamorin in all his undertakings. According to one tradition, the Vettet swarupam was created by Cheraman Perumal, according to another, by the Zamorin himself. He was bound to maintain 4000 nayars for the Zamorin's service, and for every 'rice-pouring' ceremony (അരിയൊഴുപ്പം) he had to pay a succession fee to his suzerain in the form of 100 bags of rice, 3000 cocoanuts, and 3000 fanams. In recognition of his services he was allowed the privilege of "standing in state" (നിലപാട് നില്ക്കുക) under the banyan tree at Tirunavayi on the *pushya* or the eighth lunar asterism during the *mamamkam* festival.

The Raja of Tirumanasseri was a Nambutiri belonging to Panniyur. After the end of the great schism the Nambutiris of the rival faction were allowed to officiate in his family as priests. His *nad* consisting of 146 desams was bounded on the east by the Uppuththodu (ഉപ്പുതോട്), on the south by the Pookkaithappuzha (പൂക്കൈതപ്പുഴ), on the west by the

sea, and on the north by the Bharathappuzha (കാരതപ്പുഴ). He had 3000 nayars under him. He was the protector of the Nambutiris living between Perinchelur (പെരഞ്ചേലൂർ) and Chenganur, (ചെങ്ങന്നൂർ), and enjoyed certain *koyma* rights over thirteen temples including that of Taliparamba (തലിപരം). Living in the immediate vicinity of Arangot and Perumpadappu, he commended himself to the protection of the Zamorin, ceding to him the port of Ponnani. It is not improbable that the enterprise which ended in the conquest of Tirunavayi was itself launched at the suggestion of Tirumanasseri. He was attached to the *suite* of the Eralpad in all the ceremonies connected with the *mamamkam*, and was given the right of collecting a tax from every merchant who brought his wares to the great festival.

In this war the Mappillas also assisted the Zamorin. After the union of the Arabs into Islam by Muhammad, they began to frequent the ports of Kerala. They contracted alliances with the women of the country, and the children thus born came to be known as the Mappillas. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, they had succeeded in ousting the Chinese from the Indian ocean and capturing the whole of the spice trade of Malabar. The honesty, security, and justice for which the Zamorin's government was famous, attracted them in large numbers to

Calicut, which in consequence outshone its rivals in commerce, wealth, and splendour. The Zamorin showed his appreciation of the help rendered by them by granting them many privileges. * Their headman was given the title of Sa-ha-ba-ndra-ko-ya (സഹബന്ദ്രകോയ) and the right of standing by his side on the Vakayur platform on the last day of the *mamarikam*. He was allowed to levy every year a poll-tax at the rate of 16 fanams from every adult male and Rs. 3 from every ship that put in at the harbours of Calicut and Beypore. To the Mappillas was also given the right of farming the customs revenue.

Tradition † associates the erection of the Sri-Valayanad (ശ്രീവലയനാട്) temple with this war. The Zamorin was not at first successful. His soldiers asserted that at the critical moment of the battle the Tirumanthamkunnath Bhagavathi (തിരുമാന്താംകുന്ത, ഭഗവതി), the household deity of Arangot, descended in their midst in the shape of a frightful demoness smiting them with terror and dismay. The Zamorin at once retired to the woods to invoke the favour of the goddess. Pleased with his austerities she made her appearance before him and promised to be at Calicut on a certain day. On the appointed day, very

* Mackenzie Mss.—No. 5 Sec. 4 and 5.

† Kannambra Nayar—*Kerala charithram*—p. 51.

late in the evening the impatient Zamorin heard that a lovely paragon of beauty had just passed through the bazaar. He tracked her to the mound of Valayanad. She was about to disappear into a house when he rushed forward to take hold of her hand. But the apparition had disappeared and the Zamorin found himself holding a bracelet in his hand. On this spot a pagoda was built. The bracelet was placed among the *lares* daily worshipped by the Zamorin. It was lost in the disaster of 1766. The door behind which the goddess disappeared was taken out of its hinges, draped in silk, and carried before the Zamorin. This is the *Pallimrādi* (പല്ലിമറാടി). From that time the demoness ceased to afflict his soldiers, and the tide of war changed in his favour.

The exact date of this event is not known. The year 100 M. E. (corresponding to 924-25 A. D.) that has been suggested is too early. The earliest mention of the *mamankam* in print is that of 1529 A. D. But the capture of Tirunavayi must have taken place certainly before the beginning of the war with Perumpadappu.

CHAPTER VI.

The great leap forward,

Nedunganad, one of the seventeen *nads* of ancient Kerala, lay between Valluwanad and Nedum-purayanad (Palghat). Its ruler, called the Nedungeripad, was like the Zamorin a *samanta* by caste. By his

arrogance he alienated his chief nobles. Secretly, supported by Arangot they grew turbulent and rebellious. He found it more and more difficult to maintain his hold over them, and as a last resource appealed to the Zamorin for help, promising to defray the expenses of the war.

The Zamorin saw in this an opportunity to strike a blow against Arangot. He sent a large army under the Eralpad to restore order in Nedunganad. When he reached Yegneswaram (യജ്ഞേശ്വരം) in the western frontier of Nedunganad, he found the Nedungeri had made no arrangements for the subsistence of his army. At the same time envoys from the unruly vassals of the Nedungeri were waiting for him with offers of submission. The Eralpad was glad that he was able to achieve his object without striking a blow. He made a round of the country, visiting its temples and receiving the submission of the various *naduvazhis*.* The warlike expedition thus became a triumphal progress. Only in one place was there any show of

The chief among them were Kizhak unnattu Nambidi (കിഴക്കുനാട്ടു നമ്പിടി), Nedunganad Patanayar (നെടുങ്ങനാട്ടു പടനായർ), Karakkat Mooththavan (കാരക്കാട്ടു മൂത്തവൻ) *alias* Kavalappara Nayar (കവളപ്പാറ നായർ), Vittikkat Nayar (വീട്ടിക്കാട്ടു നായർ) *alias* Kannampra Nayar (കണ്ണമ്പ്രനായർ) and Kannanur Patanayar (കണ്ണനൂർ പടനായർ) *alias* Trikkatiri Nayar (തൃക്കടീരിനായർ).

resistance. Near Karimpuzha (കരിമ്പുഴ), the Cherumas and the Panans, more loyal to their ancient chief than the nayars, refused at first to recognise his authority. But they were appeased by judicious presents, it being considered a disgrace for a nayar to engage in fight with one of a lower caste.

The Nedungeripad was punished by being divested of his country. For his maintenance, however, the Zamorin allowed him to retain his rights over the *devaswam* of God Ayyappan of Cherupalasseri (ചെറുപാലാശ്ശേരി). The Nambutiris were conciliated by a written promise placed in the hands of Vennancheri Nambutiri (വേണഞ്ചേരി നമ്പൂതിരി), a descendant of Mezathur Agnihothri (മേഴത്തൂർ അഗ്നിഹോത്രി), that cows, Brahmans, and temples would be protected. The Eralpad was appointed governor of the newly annexed province with Karimpuzha for his head quarters. These events are still commemorated in the *Procession of the Eralpad to Karimpuzha* immediately after his rice-pouring ceremony. The procession is joined and escorted by the various *naduvazhis* when it passes through their respective jurisdictions.

Sometime after this, hostilities broke out between the Zamorin and the Kolaththiri (കോലത്തൂരി), the ruler of Kolaththunad (കോലത്തുനാട്), which lay to the north of Polanad. According to the Keralolpaththi, the Kolaththiri was one of the two sons of Cheraman Perumal

the Venad Adigal being the other. It was the Kolaththiri who gave asylum to the Porlathiri on his flight from Calicut, when it fell in the hands of the Zamorin. The present war had no connexion with this event. It arose out of a purely domestic episode. A prince of the Kolaththiri was stationed as Viceroy at Kollam (കൊല്ലം) near Pantalayini (പന്തലയിനി). During a visit to the Zamorin's palace at Calicut, he fell in love with a thampuratti. The love was returned. But the permission of the Zamorin was not asked; the thampuratti allowed herself to be kidnapped and taken to Chirakkal (ചിറക്കൽ) by her lover. To punish the Kolaththiri, the Zamorin assembled the nayars and the Mappillas, and occupied Kollam as a preliminary to the advance on Chirakkal. But the frightened Kolaththiri sent ambassadors offering to submit to whatever terms the Zamorin might dictate. In the hour of triumph the Zamorin was generous. He was satisfied with the absolute cession of the territory he had occupied and the creation of a separate appanage for the thampuratti and her descendants at Nileswaram (നീലേശ്വരം) with 3000 nayars to serve them. The thampuratti had to atone for her rash and unconventional conduct by renouncing for herself and her descendants all claims on Calicut. It was by adopting two thampurattis and three thampurans from this family in 1706 A. D. that the Zamorin's dynasty was preserved from extinction.

Sometime in this century the Zamorin became the ruler of Kakkad or Talappilli now within the Cochin state. The chief of this place is still styled Kakkad Karanavappad (കക്കട കാരണവപ്പട). He was originally a Nambutiri, but became a Nambiti for committing the sin of man-slaughter. According to the Keralolpaththi, Bhutaraya Perumal, aided and abetted by two genii, gave full rein to his passions that the Nambutiris resolved to get rid of him by assassination. This Nambutiri volunteered for the difficult and dangerous task. He defeated the Perumal in a game of chess and won the two genii who had been staked. Lest they should remain loyal to their former master, he sent them to the beach to count the waves. In their absence he slew the king. The Brahmans in their gratitude conferred upon him the lordship of the lands in Talapilli with the title of Kakkad Karanavappad. According to another version, his services consisted not in killing the oppressor, but in killing Choy, the general of the Chola king, who invaded the country.

A different account is given by Canter Visscher. "In the old times of Cherumperounal," says the Venerable Chaplain, * "when that monarch had reigned twelve years, people wished to summon a new emperor from Hindustan to fill his place, whilst others were

desirous to keep him in power, on account of his sage government. Now the first party, having introduced their new emperor into the country, some Brahmins of the other side went to meet him, cut off his head and brought it to Cherumperoumal, who was then at Telepale near Amkoer. In consequence of this deed they lost caste, indeed, but Cherumperoumal, to show his gratitude made them *Nambooris* (sic) and gave them the lands of Telepale for a perpetual possession".

In course of time the family became divided into Kakkad, Ayinikur (അയിനികുറ), Cheralayam (ചെറലായം), Manakkulam (മനക്കുളം), and Punnaththoor (പുന്നത്തൂർ). The growth of the family gave rise to quarrels, Punnaththoor seeking the help of the Zamorin. The Zamorin's nayars invaded the country and the Talapilli Rajas had to submit. Chowghat and Chatterwaddy were annexed. From that time till 1792 Punnathur remained on terms of the closest friendship with the Zamorin.

Punnathur has a special function to perform at the *pulakuli* (i. e. bathing to remove the death pollution) of the new Zamorin. "As the Zamorin stands in the water of the tank, the Valiya Raja of Punnaththur comes to the place and with his right hand takes the left hand of the Zamorin. Both of them then plunge under the water. As soon as they are under the water

the Nambiti (i. e. Punnathur Raja) lets go the Zamorin's hand, dives through the water and goes out of the tank by another flight of steps, carefully averting his gaze from the Zamorin. The Punnathur Raja has the right of dining with the Zamorin on this day." *

It is the war with the Perumpadappu swarupam (പെരുമ്പടപ്പു സ്വരൂപം) that enlarged the Zamorin's empire to its widest extent. Perumpadappu is a village in the present Ponnani Taluk, part of the ancient *Vannerinad* (വന്നരിനാട്). According to the Cochin grantha-varies, Perimpadappu belonged to a Nambutiri, who conferred it upon the children by his Kshatriya wife, as he had no children ~~in~~ the wife whom he had taken from his own caste. According to another tradition, Vannerinad was the country where the first Perumal landed, the ancestress of the Cochin dynasty was his sister, and Perumpadappu was the *desam* in which she was first settled. Anyway the descendants of the 'Surya-Kshtriya woman' became masters of the whole of Vannerinad, stretching from the Pookkaitha to the Chetwai, from Palappilli to the sea. This family, very prolific then as now, split into five branches, the Muththa മുത്ത), Elaya, (എളയ), Palluruthi (പള്ളുവിതൽ), Madathunkil (മാടത്തുങ്കിൽ) or Muriagur (മുരിയൂർ), and Chazhur (ചാഴൂർ), *tavarhis*, each of which had its own palace and lands which were acquired partly by war, partly by gifts.

The Nambutiris claim the credit or the discredit of starting the feud between Perumpadappu and Nedi-yiruppu. One day after the *Revathy pattaththanam* (രവതി പട്ടത്തനം) some Bhattathiris came to the Cochin palace. There they were told of the intolerable oppression of the reigning chief, who belonged to another *tavazhi*, how even the palace was not safe against his minions. One of the Nambutiris—his sympathies warmed perhaps more by the excellent feast than by the harrowing tale of suffering this unfolded—made a vow that he would make the Zamorin set his foot within forty-one days upon the tiles of the Cochin palace roof. He removed four or five tiles from the roof and took them to Calicut carefully covered in a silk cloth. He appeared before the Zamorin and requested him to set his foot upon the parcel. When asked to explain the meaning of his words, the Nambutiri recounted the story he had heard at Cochin and the rash vow he had made. The Zamorin satisfied him by saying that there was time enough to fulfil the vow, and he would tread upon the Cochin tiles on an auspicious day.

The story is a poor compliment to the wisdom of the Zamorin. It is certain that the war was undertaken not to fulfil the post-prandial boast of a Nambutiri. Perumpadappu was the leader along with Arangot of the rival faction in the *kur-matsaram*. Moreover

he made certain claims to social and political precedence which the Zamorin was not prepared to recognise.

The Zamorin's task was made easy by the quarrels among the members of the Cochin family. "The right of succession to the musnad was common to all, the eldest male member of all the branches taken together being the reigning Raja. If the ruling chief grew too old or otherwise too feeble to govern the country, he relinquished the reins of government and led the life of a religious recluse, entrusting the administration either to the rightful heir or to the next eldest member of his own branch. In the latter case the regent was bound on the death of the retired chief not only to make way for the rightful heir, but also to retire from the world and become a religious recluse". * Such a custom gave rise to perpetual discords among the five branches, and the Zamorin's help was sought against the party that was for the time being in the ascendant. The Zamorin was thus always furnished with a pretext for interference; he could always make it out that he had taken up arms in defence of justice.

Further the rule of these princes seems to have been more remarkable for arrogance than for wisdom. The result was the chief lords in the kingdom began to grow restive. The Patinharredam (പതിന്മുഖം) Nambutiri, who was the *uralan* of the Vatakkunnathan

* *The Cochin State Manual*—p. 47.

Devaswam (വടക്കുന്നാഥൻ ദേവസ്വം), and Chittur Nambutiri (ചിത്തൂർ നമ്പൂതിരി), one of the richest landowners in those parts, began to defy his authority.

The Rajas of Cranganore (കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂർ) and Edappalli (ഇടുപ്പള്ളി) also joined the movement against Cochin. Mattancheri (മട്ടാഞ്ചേരി) and Vypeen (വൈപ്പൻ) originally belonged to Edappalli or Elangallur swarupam (എളങ്ങല്ലൂർ സ്വരൂപം). Sometime after 1341, a Raja of Edappalli began *sambandham* with a thampuratti of the Elaya thavazhi, and made over these places to her and her descendants. This was resented by the junior members of Elangallur who found themselves thus mulcted in their inheritance. The Rajas of Cranganore and their kinsmen of Ayirur (അയിരൂർ), who ruled over the middle portion of the Chetwai island, and Sarkara (ശാക്കര) who ruled over its northern half, had their own grievances as neighbours against Perumpadappu.

A more auspicious time could not be chosen for a war with Cochin. The whole of Vannerinad was occupied. With the assistance of Patinharredam, the Raja of Cochin was driven out of Trichur, and the Zamorin became the lord of the place and the *melkoyma* (മേൽക്കോയ്മ) of the Vatakkunnathan Devaswam. Finally the Zamorin penetrated into Cochin itself and seated his partisan on the throne. The deposed king did not tamely submit. He and his party kept the country

perpetually agitated and the Zamorin had to lead more than one expedition to improve his hold. The power of Cochin sank to its lowest nadir. "The king of Cochin was not a king before the Portuguese discovered India", says Barbosa, * "for all the kings who had of late reigned in Calecut had made it for their practice and rule to invade Cochin and drive the king out of his estate, taking themselves possession thereof, thereafter according as their pleasure was, they would give it back to him or not. The king of Cochin gave him every year a certain number of elephants, but he might not strike coins, nor roof his palace with tiles under pain of losing his land."

Another but indirect result of this war was the conquest of Naduvattam † (നടുവട്ടം) in the present Palghat taluk. Palghat or Nedumpereiyurnad (നേടുമ്പറൈയുറനാട്) was a province of the ancient Chera empire and its *utayavar* was one of the attestors to Perumal Bhaskara Ravivarman's grant to the Jews. This family was in some way related with Perumpadappu and the Raja of Palghat was throughout an ally if not a dependant of

* *Book of Duarte Barbosa*—Vol. II. pp. 94—95.

† It comprised the modern amsons of Kottaya, Mangara, Kuttanur Kuzhalmannam, Vilayanchaththanur, Tenkurissi, Tannisseri, Peruvemba, Koduvayur, Kakkayur, Vilayanur, Manyalur, Erimayur, Kunnisseri, Pallavur, Kudallur, Pallassena, Vadavannur, Kizhakettara, Padinharetara, Vattekkad, Panangatiri, and Mutalamada. Logan places the conquest of Naduvattam just before Haidar Ali's invasion.

the Raja of Cochin. When the Zamorin invaded Cochin, the Raja of Palghat attempted a diversion by attacking the Venganad Nambidi (വേങ്ങനാട നമ്പിടി) and reducing him to straits.

The Venganad Nambidis were closely related by descent and adoption with the Velosnad (വേളുസ്നാട) Nambiyars who were lords of Maprana. They claim descent from the *gandharva* nymphs settled in Malabar by Parasurama, and the seniormost lady of the house is styled *appichi amma* (അപ്പിച്ചി അമ്മ), a corruption of the Sanskrit *a-psa-ra-stri* (അപ്സരസ്ത്രീ). In course of time the curse of internal dissension that proved the ruin of many kingdoms and families in Malabar descended upon this family also. One party appealed to Perumpadappu, whereupon the other sought the protection of Nediyruppu. One among the latter carved for himself a principality near Kullengode (കുല്ലങ്കോട്) between the Chittoor (ചിറ്റൂർ) and Nemmara (നേമ്മാര) taluks of the present Cochin state and thus became the founder of the family of Venganad Nambidis.

The Zamorin sent the Kuthiravattam Nayar (കുതിരവട്ടം നായർ), his captain of the horse, to expel the Palghat Raja from Venganad. The Nayar not only succeeded in clearing Venganad but occupied a large part of the Palghat Raja's dominions, known as Naduvattam (നടുവട്ടം), because it ran like a wedge through

the centre, dividing Palghat into Temmalapuram (തമ്മലപ്പുറം) and Vatomalappuram (വടമലപ്പുറം). In conformity with the policy of entrusting the newly conquered territory to the general who had conquered it, the Kuthiravattam Nayar was installed as the *naduvazhi* of Naduvattam with the duties of protecting the Venganad *appichichi* and the sanctuary of Tiruvilvamala (തൃവിലംമല) and Chembamkulangara (ചെമ്പങ്കുളങ്ങര).

The series of brilliant operations with which the century opened came to a close with a successful campaign against the Raja of Travancore known as the Venad Adigal or the Tripappur (തൃപ്പാപ്പുര) swarupam. The motive of the expedition is not known. Tradition says it was to protect the Nambutiris. The Eralpad was the leader of the army. When he entered Onad, past Kartikapalli (കാർതികപ്പള്ളി), the Adigal sued for peace. He paid a large sum of money as compensation for the expenses of the expedition, promised to send an offering for every *mamankam* festival, ceded some territory, and allowed certain *koyma* rights in the temple of Padmanabhaswami at Trivandrum and of the Bhagavathi at Chengannur. The Zamorin however was wise enough to part with these distant responsibilities. He made over the ceded districts to the *mutt* of *Matthappuram* (മത്തപ്പുറം), the *koyma* rights in Trivandrum to the Nambutiris of Trichur and those in chengannur to the Raja of Tirumanasseri.

CHAPTER VII.

The Zamorins at their zenith.

The year 1498 forms a landmark in the history of Kerala. It closes the epoch that began with the abdication of the Perumal and the partition of Malabar. In the course of the seven centuries that followed this great event there took place a complete change in the political history of this country. Starting as one among equals, the Zamorin had by the close of the fifteenth century completely outstripped his rivals. The Porlathiri had been blotted out; the Nedungeri survived only as a name; the Koiaththiri, with Nileswaram and Ali Raja more often rebellious than loyal, quaked under the Damocles' sword of a Vijayanagar invasion; the Venatri had already bowed his neck under the yoke of Narasinga; the Vellatri indeed retained his independence, but he was powerless for serious mischief; the Raja of Palghat had been compelled to surrender Naduvattam, and the Venganad Nambidi and the Kuthiravattam Nayar established in the very heart of his kingdom. The Zamorin's authority extended along the coast in an unbroken line from Puthupattanam (പുതുപട്ടണം) to Kannetti (കന്നം). Perumpadappu existed by his grace; Edappalli, Cranganore, Vettet, Parappur, and Kurumbiathiri were subordinate allies, whose dependence was cloaked under their matrimonial relations with the Zamorin's family. Thanks to the Arab merchants the fame of the Zamorin had spread

beyond the utmost bounds of the western ocean as far as distant Lusitania. Eli, Cranganore, and Quilon were no longer talked of as in the days of Suleiman or Marco Polo; Calicut had taken their place as the mart *par excellence* of Kerala.

When there was no war, the Zamorin resided here. His palace was a stately and massive mansion, consisting of many blocks of houses, all detached and well-built, with many storeys and galleries, orchards and flower beds. It was surrounded by a mud wall and a moat filled with water. Within the circuit of the wall was the *mananchira* (മാനാച്ചിറ), on the east bank of which stood the residence of the Zamorin. The wall was pierced by four gates, one at each of the four cardinal points.

The gates were very strongly guarded. No one was admitted unless he was well-known; strangers were subjected to the most severe scrutiny. Between the gates and the apartments of the Zamorin were four court-yards, where soldiers were always on guard. There was a big bell at the palace which was sounded in case of sudden alarm or when the Zamorin wanted to assemble his men-at arms. If any one wished to speak with the king he was passed from one guard to another and finally ushered into the presence of the Zamorin by *haricars* bearing silver-mounted staves.

The audience-chamber or throne-room (അമ്മാൻ മന്ദിരം) was circular in form surrounded by a gallery. It was a very large hall capable of comfortably accomodating more than three thousand persons. "The hall," says Abdur Razaak, the Persian ambassador, "was filled with two or three thousand Hindus; the principal personages amongst the Mussulmans were also present. After they had made me take a seat, the letter of His Majesty the Happy Khakan was read and they caused to pass in procession before the throne the horse, the pelisse, and the cap to be worn at the ceremony of *Nauruz*" § The arsenal the mint, and the secretarial offices were all situated within the enclosure of the outer wall.

The daily life of the Zamorin was very simple. He got up at the beginning of the fourth quarter of the night announced by the blowing of the 'golden conch' and the firing of the gun. He spent an hour in *vayaram* (വായാമം). "It is a superstitious custom," says Gundert,* "observed by Tamuri's servants when bathing him". It consisted in having his body rubbed with some oil in which the meadow grass (വേളം) was the chief ingredient. This custom, it is said, was introduced by the Kolkunnath Sivangal (കൊങ്കണത്തമ്പലം). It constituted perhaps the daily exercise of the Zamorin, though this is now considered a mystic practice, its

§ Gundert—*Malayalam Dictionary*—p. 909.

* Major—*India in the fifteenth century*—p. 18.

nature and significance being kept a close secret. The Zamorin was assisted in this ceremony by sixteen *Vayara Panikkars*. After bath he performed his orisons and worshipped the sword of Cheraman. Thence he proceeded to his breakfast which was very light. Between breakfast and the principal meal at noon he attended to the affairs of the kingdom, spending his time in hearing reports, dictating orders, and examining accounts.

The Zamorin then went round the choultry to satisfy himself that no Brahman was unserved. After that he sat for his dinner, a rather sumptuous meal (for he took nothing but fruits at night) consisting of many dishes cooked and served by the Nambutiris. After dinner he had the *Ramayana* or other *puranas* read to him. An hour or two was sometimes spent in the elucidation of some difficult text with the assistance of learned pandits. Sometimes this would be cut short and a discussion on the affairs of the kingdom or some policy to be adopted was held with the ministers and other important officers. Audience was granted to strangers in the afternoon. When there was no business on hand, the king disported himself by playing chess, holding mock combats, or witnessing the antics of buffoons, mountebanks, tumblers, and acrobats.

The dress of the Zamorin did not differ from that of the Nayers. On certain festival days as *Aththachchamayam* (അത്തച്ചമയം), *Thaippuyam* (തൈപ്പൂയം),

and *Mamamkam* (മമ്മകം), or when he received embassies from foreign kings, he was covered from head to foot with ornaments of gold and precious stones. When he gave audience to Vasco da Gama, "he was clothed with white cloths from the middle to the knees; one of these cloths ended in a long point on which were threaded several gold rings with large rubies which made a great show. He had on his left arm a bracelet above the elbow, which seemed like three rings together, the middle one larger than the others, all studded with rich jewels, particularly the middle one, which bore large stones which could not fail to be of very great value. From this middle ring hung a pendant stone which glittered; it was a diamond of the thickness of a thumb; it seemed a price-less thing. Round his neck was a string of pearls about the size of hazel nuts. The string took two turns and reached to his middle, above it he wore a thin round gold chain which bore a jewel of the form of a heart surrounded by large pearls and all full of rubies; in the middle was a green stone of the size of a large bean which, from its showiness, was of great price which was called an emerald. The king had long dark hair all gathered up and tied on the top of his head with a knot made in it; and round the knot he had a string of pearls like those round his neck, and at the end of the string a pendant pearl shaped and larger than the rest. His ears were pierced with large holes, with many gold

ear-rings of round beads. Close to the king stood a boy, his page, with a silk cloth round him; he held a red shield with a border of gold and jewels, and a boss in the centre, of a span's breadth of the same materials; and the rings inside for the arms were full of gold; also a short drawn sword of an ell's length, round at the point, with a hilt of gold and jewellery with pendant pearls. On the other side stood another page who held a gold cup with a wide rim into which the king spat; and at the side of his chair was his chief Brahman who gave him from time to time a green leaf closely folded with other things inside it, which the king ate and spat into the cup." * So numerous and heavy were the ornaments worn by him that his arms were supported, when he appeared in public, by Nandavana-ththil Nambi (നന്ദാവനത്തിൽ നമ്പി) and the head-priest (വലിയഭക്തവാരി).

De Couto, writing a century later in 1600, gives us the following picture of the Zamorin, as he came to meet the Portuguese general at the siege of Kottakkal, the strong-hold of Kunhali Marakkayar (കുഞ്ഞാലിമരക്കാട്);—"He wore so many ornaments, and on his arms such a quantity of jewelled bracelets, that they extended from the bend of his elbows down to his thumbs, where-with he was so weighted that he was obliged to have two pages, each sustaining one arm. From his neck hung a

* Logan—*Malabar Manual*—Vol. I p. 298.

collar of inestimable value; in his ears, ear-rings of the same assay, set with beautiful rubies and diamonds, whose weight extended the ears down to the shoulders, so that the value of what he carried upon him was indeed great. He was naked from the waist to the head, while round the head was bound a cloth of gold and silk in many folds, the ends reaching half way down the leg, and round the head a jewelled coronet of four fingers' breadth very richly set and of great value". Pyrard de Laval speaks to the same effect. "With regard to the person of the king, I may say, in the first place, that in accoutrements and dress he differs in no way from the Nairs, being no more clothed than they, except that he wears not so many ornaments, valuables or precious stones as the other lords. But on a day of festival or solemnity, it is not possible to see (anywhere) more gold or gems than he carries, but this happens very rarely and at the great ceremonies only; for ordinarily he wears only a little gold chain round his waist having a jewelled clasp in front."

The king made frequent progresses through the country. The pomp and circumstance that attended these royal tours are thus described by Duarte Barbosa:—"When the king goes forth to amuse himself or to perform his orisons before some idol, all the Nayres who are near by are summoned to accompany him

and the officers of the state and the pagans; and the king comes forth in his litter borne by two men which is lined with silken cushions; and the litter is of silk and is hung on a bamboo pole covered with precious stones. It is as thick as the arms of a fat man and they carry him with certain turns and steps to which they are trained from birth. These two men raise the bamboo on their shoulders from which the aforesaid litter hangs.

“The king carries an infinite number of golden crowns and precious stones and on his right foot a very rich and heavy anklet. Many instruments of metal are played before him, and many Nayre archers with bows and arrows like those of the English and others with long spears with heads an ell in length and metal rings on their butt-ends go before him. They brandish them as they go, and other Nayre bucklermen also go with him with drawn swords in their hands, and they have other rings on the hilts thereof with which they make great disturbances and as they go they shout one to the other in a loud voice in their own tongue, “Go on; go on”. Some of them fence with one another as they go in front of the king and clear a space so that he may see them. They are very active and great masters of the art of fencing, which art they hold in higher esteem than we hold that of horsemanship.

“The king often halts to let them continue their play at his pleasure, praising and comending those who

do best. In front of him the king takes a page, who carries his sword and shield, another who bears a golden sword of state, and yet another the sword which belonged to that king who ruled over the whole of Malabar and who became a Moor (and departed to go and remain at Meca which they keep as a relic). And in his left hand he carries a weapon which is like unto a *flower-de-luce*.

“And on each side he has with him two men, one carrying a large round fan and the other a fan made from the white tail of an animal like a horse which among them is much esteemed, fixed on a golden staff.

“These men continue to fan him, two on one side and two on the other: and on his right hand walks a page bearing a golden ewer full of water and on his left another with one of silver, and yet another with a towel, and when the king wishes to put his hand to his nose or eyes or mouth, they pour some water from the ewer on his fingers and the other hands him the towel which he carries to wipe himself. Other pages also accompany him of whom one on his right side bears a golden cup and one on his left side a silver cup into which he spits out the betel he is always chewing which another page continues to hand to him.

“Behind him they bear two large round water pots, one of silver on the left and one of gold on the

right full of water. * Further in front of him go four parasols on their staves, that is to say, two of very fine white cloth and two of worked and embroidered silk. Near him they carry an umbrella on a high support which keeps off the sun.

"Behind the king walk his nephews and the governors of the country and the officers all on foot and all bearing drawn swords and bucklers, and thus they proceed in good order with extreme slowness[†] looking at the games and jesters, tumblers and musqueteers who entertain them. If the king goes forth by night he goes in the same manner, but he takes with him four large iron lamp stands with branches like our cressets (fogareous) full of oil with very thick wicks: two go in front and two behind (and there are many torches of wood which burn a long time),". §

"When the king takes a walk," says Pyrard de Laval, "he is always accompanied by Nairs as well within as without his palace; he never employs others. The great lords go before and behind, but none by his side, while his guards line the way on both sides as he passes. When they salute him, it is their fashion for both gentle and simple to put their shields and bucklers under one armpit and their swords under

* *It is strange that Barbosa should have left out the seven women sprinkling water from silver dishes before the Zamorin,*

§ *Book of Duarte Barbosa*—Vol. II pp. 24—26.

the other, joining both hands over their heads thrice separating and closing them”.

Two great festivals were observed in the year. They were *Vishu* and *Onam* when the feudatories and *naduvazhis* were expected to send presents. On the New Year's Day, “which is in the month of April,” says Pyrard de Laval, § “all the Nairs, the courtiers, and their attendants come to visit and salute the king, while he, from the window of a high gallery, receives their salutations, and tosses to each a packet of betel, which he gives by way of largess, and some pieces of gold, to some more, to others less; and this is a present which they value extravagantly, as coming from the king's hand. He gives these presents not only to the Nairs, but also to all sorts and conditions, for he gave to us as well and also to some Christian Indians, who were habited in the Portuguese fashion”.

There were also two local festivals—the festival of Srivalayanad temple in February-March and the *puram* festival at the Tali temple in April. In connexion with the former there was a *thalappili* (താലപ്പിരി) at the *tharakkal* (താരക്കൽ) temple celebrated by the *Chaliyans*. Duarte Barbosa seems to have witnessed it which he describes as follows:—

* *Voyage of Pyrard de Laval*—Vol. 1 p. 415,

§ *Ibid.* p. 398.

" All women, young and old alike, gather together in the King's palace gaily attired with jewelled necklaces, golden beads of very fine work, golden anklets on their legs, and great numbers of bracelets and rings. From the waist down they wear garments of rich silk, above the waist they are naked, as they ever are, anointed with sandalwood oil, and other scents, and many flowers in their hair. 'On their heads they wear nothing, but their hair, which is right black, is very well dressed, and some of them tie it into a fine knot.' Their ears are bored and in them they wear much gold, they go barefoot as they are always. And with them come all the instruments of royal music, firing of guns and fireworks of many kinds.

"Many Nāyres also assemble who accompany these women and are their lovers, they are well attired and gallant in their appearance, also seven or eight elephant covered with silk draperies, numbers of hanging bells, and great iron chains thrown over their backs. Thus they bring an idol which they hold to be their patron, one of whose priests holds it in his arms and seats himself with it on the greatest of those elephants, and thus they go in procession with much music and fireworks, discharging of guns and many jesters in front; thus they go on till they reach a certain temple, and there they bring the idol and place it with the others which are already in that place where they perform many ceremonies. Mighty crowds gather here to worship these idols and

pay their respect to their appearance. Each of the women holds her broad and flat brass basin full of rice, and on this oil-lamps with many wicks and flowers all round. They continue these ceremonies until nightfall, when they depart to go to the kings' palace, where they must leave the idol; they walk in front of it in ranks of eight each in good order, with their basins and their lamps lighted. They keep such good time that one does not take one step more than another. The men walk outside on each side of them and keep putting betel into their mouths, which they are perpetually eating, and also carry their lampstands when they require it. The Nayres also, who are in love with some of them, continue to speak to them of their proposals and to wipe the sweat away from their faces, breasts, and necks, fanning them with fans, as their hands are incumbered with their burdens. And they must discharge rockets and explode bombs, and they also carry fire-trees which burn all the time, so that this is one of the prettiest sights in the world 'at least during this night march'.

"And in front of the idol walk many Nayres with bare swords, slashing themselves whensoever they can and foaming at the mouth, and shouting so that they seem possessed of devils, and they say indeed that the gods enter into them and cause them to know it. With them come numbers of tumblers and jesters, also the rulers of the state and men of high position ruling and regulating the procession; and so they carry the image

with complete order until they reach the king's palace where it breaks up."*

The Zamorin's empire consisted of dependencies ruled by Rajas and provinces presided over by *naduvazhis*. Among the former were:—

(1) Kottayam (കോട്ടയം) or Puranattukara (പുറനാട്ടുകര); (2) Vettet (വെട്ടത്ത) or Tanur (താനൂർ); (3) Kakkat (കക്കാട്ട) or Talapilli (തലപ്പിള്ളി) or Punnaththur (പുന്നത്തൂർ); (4) Kuruva Kovil (കുറുവ കോവിൽ); (5) Patinhar-redath Kovil (പതിന്തററെടത്തുകോവിൽ); or Cranganore (കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂർ); (6) Elangallur (ഇളങ്ങല്ലൂർ) or Edappalli (ഇടപ്പള്ളി); (7) Tirumanasseiri (തിരുമനശ്ശേരി); (8) Pappu Kovil (പാപ്പുകോവിൽ) or Chaliyam (ചാലിയം), Beypore (ബേപ്പൂർ) and Parappunad (പരപ്പനാട); (9) Parur (പരൂർ) near Alwaye; (8) Chittur Nambudiri (ചിറ്റൂർനമ്പൂതിരി); (9) Onatiri (ഓണാട്ടിരി); (10) Mangat Kaimal (മങ്ങാട്ട കൈമൾ); and (11) Perumpadappu (പെരുമ്പടപ്പു).

The nature and conditions of dependence were not the same for all. Some were in the position of the most favoured vassals, as Vettet, Tirumanasseri, Patinhar-redam, and Chittur; others, like Perumpadappu, were subjected to the most humiliating terms. Every one of these Rajas had, as a mark of his dependence, to pay a relief or succession fee, send a fixed contingent of *nayars* to the Zamorin's army, and had to be present

either in person or through accredited representatives at the *mamamkam* festival.

The *naduvazhis* (നാടുവാഴി) differed from the Rajas in that the former owed their origin to the Zamorin, while the latter to the grant of Cheraman Perumal. They were similar to the tenants-in-chief of feudal England having more or less the same rights and obligations. The land was divided into a number of *nads*, each of which was further subdivided into a number of *desams*, and every one of these *nads* and *desams* was designated by the allotted quota of nayars it was required to bring into the field. No one was considered a *naduvazhi* who had not at least a hundred nayars attached to him; the rest were known as *desavazhis*. While the Zamorin did not interfere between a dependent Raja and his subjects, a Raja being allowed a free hand, a *naduvazhi* was liable to render an account of his administration. An oppressive *naduvazhi* was fined, and in the last resort even removed, his next junior being invested, according to the law of the land, with the office.

The *naduvazhis* with their contingents formed the back bone of the Zamorin's army. They had appropriate titles of distinction; derived sometimes from the number of nayars under their command, as the *Ayyayira Prabhu Karthavu* (അയ്യായിരപ്രഭുക്കർത്താവ്)

sometimes from the particular locality over which they held sway, as *Kozhikot Talachchannavar* (കൊഴിക്കോട്ട തലച്ചന്നവർ), *Chowghat Talachchannavar* (ചൗവക്കോട്ട തലച്ചന്നവർ), or from the nature of their duties, as *Patanayar* (പടനായർ) or Captain and *Kuthirappattanayar* (കുതിരപ്പടനായർ) or Captain of the Horse. They were not always in attendance at the court, but came only on special summons. The *naduvazhis* had further to make a number of payments to the Zamorin which constituted the main source of his revenue.

The principal ministers of the Zamorin were four in number: Mangat Achchan (മങ്ങച്ചേൻ), Thinayancheri Elayathu (തിനയഞ്ചേരി ഇളയതു), Dharmoth Panikkar (ധർമ്മത്തപനിക്കർ), and Para Nambi (പാരമ്പി). The original seat of Mangat Achchan was Vattoli (വട്ടളി) in the present Kottayam taluk. He held the sthanam of Vazhunnar (വാഴുന്നൂർ) under the Kottayam Rajas. "It is very curious", says Mr. Thorne, "to observe that the Mangat Achchan alone of all the dependents of the Zamorin comes from North Malabar. He belongs to territory over which the Zamorin never held sway and which in historical times has been under the dominion of the Kottayam Rajas. How came it that the Zamorin's chief minister was chosen from outside his territories?"* In ancient days the Kottayam Rajas had *sambandham* with the thampurattis of this family. It is not improbable that Mangat Achchan was

* *Book of Duarte Barbosa* — Vol. II p. 14—note.

first entertained at the recommendation of Kottayam whose word would naturally have had the greatest weight with the Zamorin. One tradition has it that Mangat Achchan was a fellow-pupil of the first Manavikraman who raised him to the highest dignity of Prime Minister, when he became lord of Calicut. According to the Keralolpaththi he was the *ezhuthassan* or tutor of the founders of this swarupam, his name being Thoduvikkalath Unnikumara Nambiyar. On the eve of his departure the Perumal conferred upon him the title of "Mangat Rarichcha Menon" (മണ്ടട്ട രാരിച്ച മേനോൻ), assigned him to the Zamorin, and commanded the secretaries of Trippappur (തൃപ്പാപ്പുർ), Perumpadappu (പെരുമ്പടപ്പു), and Kolaththiri (കോലത്തിരി) to yield precedence to him. Whatever his origin he held the place of the Chief Minister in historic times, and virtually governed the kingdom during the interval between the death of one Zamorin and the accession of another.

Dharmoth Panikkar (ധർമ്മത്തു പണിക്കർ) was a native of Valluwanad. He was the head of the Zamorin's *kalari* (കളരി) or gymnasium where the thampurans were trained in the use of arms. The founder of the family and the first Manavikraman were fellow-pupils and chums, and when Manavikraman became the Zamorin he appointed the Panikkar, the trusted friend of his boyhood, as the hereditary

preceptor-in-arms for his nephews. The new Zamorin, immediately after his purification, performs the *kalari-puja* or the worship of the 27 deities presiding over the *kalari* under the direction of the Panikkar, who then places in his hands the sword of state. For this the Panikkar receives two purses, each containing 101 fanams. Out of his *malikhana* the Zamorin pays him Rs. 21-2-6.

The *Elayathu* is a Brahmin belonging to the community called *Oorilparisha Moossad* (ഊരിൽ പരിശിഷ്ടർ), who received arms from Parasurama. Their family seat was at Marayur (മറയൂർ) near Nediyruppu. As neighbours the members of this family were from the first entertained in his service by the Zamorin. Till 1031 M. E (1855 A. D.) the Elayathu seems to have acted as one of his principal advisers and agents. The Elayathu assists at the rice-pouring ceremony by holding the dish containing the mixture of rice and flowers, from which the three Nambutiris of Poomulli Kirangat, and Varikkasseritake a handful to pour on the Zamorin's head.

The Rayaranallar Para Nambi (രായരനല്ലർ പാരമ്പരി) originally belonged to West Hill. After the capture of Calicut, he became an officer in the Zamorin's household. By fidelity and ability he succeeded in raising himself to the position of private secretary and treasurer. A member of this family captured Malappuram (മലപ്പുറം)

and Pandalur (പാണ്ടലൂർ) from the Vellatri; and he was established at Malappuram (മലപ്പുറം) with the title of Malappuram Para Nambi (മലപ്പുറം പാരാമ്പി).

All these four ministers had important functions to perform at the great festival of *mamamkam*. Their tents were pitched close to the Zamorin's palace at Vakayur, and the last item in the festival was the procession headed by Mangat Achchan and Elayathu with other ministers and assembled people to the *manith-thara* (മണിത്തറ) to make obeisance to the Zamorin.

It has already been pointed out that one reason for the rise of Calicut was the firm and orderly government of the Zamorin. Justice was strict. Murder, cowkilling, theft, assault on a Brahman or on a Nayar if committed by one of a lower caste, and intriguing with a Nambutiri woman were punished with death. All other crimes were atoned for by a money payment. Confessions were very often obtained by torture, and when the culprit would not confess he was submitted to the ordeal. Sometimes the accused would have only to take an oath, sometimes he would have to immerse his hand up to the knuckles in a copper pot full of boiling oil. In case the suspect was a Moor he would have to lick a red hot axe with his tongue. If the hands or the tongue were found burnt he was forthwith killed.

All those below the rank of a Nayar if convicted of crime, were put to death by being impaled. "The king's officers carry him," says Barbosa, * "to a spot where justice is executed, where are many high sharp stakes and a small platform through which they pass the point of the stake. There they behead him with a sword, and then impale him on the stake between the shoulder blades, making it pass out through the belly and project a cubit or more beyond it, and his head is put on another stake, and they tie ropes to his legs and arms and fasten them to four posts so that the limbs are stretched out with the body on its back on the stand". The Nayars were not impaled but "slain with sword cuts and spear thrusts". The Muhammadan culprits were handed over to the Koya for execution.

Treason against the king was invariably punished by beheading the culprit, confiscating his lands, and destroying his house. Brahmans and women were however exempt from the highest penalty of the law however heinous the crime.

The peace of the town was maintained by Calicut Thalachannavar (താലച്ചന്നവർ). Complaints were made to him and it was his duty to arrest the accused, put him to the ordeal, and punish him if found guilty. There was however a curious custom. The stolen property, when recovered, was not returned to

* *Book of Duarte Barbosa* Vol. II. p. 27.

the owner if the thief was caught and punished. But if the thief was not caught but the stolen property found, the Governor retained a fourth part of the goods, returning the rest to their rightful owner.

The law against vagrancy in the town was also very severe. "If this Governor (Thalachehannavar)," says Barbosa, * "finds any youths or young men who are vagrant and have no employ, nor father nor mother, nor master with whom they dwell, these are forfeit to him, and he sells them as slaves to the Moors or to any person whatsoever, who is willing to purchase them at a very low price from three to five cruzados each, whether men or women".

There was another officer whose duty also was to take cognisance of crime. His jurisdiction was not limited to Calicut but extended over the whole kingdom. He is called "Contante Carnaxe" by the Portuguese writers. He had his deputies in every town and he investigated all crimes not punishable with death.

There was no officer in the kingdom so high but had to render an account of his actions to the king. Neither kinship nor authority availed an oppressive Governor against the condign punishment of his master. The Zamorin's hand was both long and firm. Even when

his power had begun to show signs of decline as the result of his wars with Cochin in the seventeenth century, his hold on his feudatories was unimpaired. The Kuthiravattam Nayar, the Governor of Naduvattam, was condemned in 1658 A. D. to pay a fine of 30000 fanams and give an elephant for the crime of setting fire to some houses in the Manyaloor Cherikkal, while later on for certain acts of disobedience the Zamorin confiscated all his lands *in toto*.

Every caste had its own council consisting of the elders of the community where offences against the rules caste were investigated and punished. The king was however previously informed of the alleged crime and he sent an officer to prevent abuse and execute the sentence of the council.

The secretariat of the Zamorin was the admiration of the European travellers who visited the country. It was a large building situated near the palace. The officers and clerks were all provided with quarters near by. "Some make entry of all goods", says Pyrard de Laval, * "arriving for the king, others the dues and taxes paid day by day; others the expenditure of the king's household; others the most notable incidents of each day both what happens at court and in the rest of the kingdom; in short all news, for he

has everything registered and each clerk has his separate room. They also keep a register of all strangers who come there, taking their names and nationalities, the time of their arrival, and the business that had brought them, and so they did with us. It is a wondrous thing to observe their number and the perfect order that exists among them and how fast they write on their palm leaves. These are of the length and breadth of the leaves of *cocatrics*, but thicker and stiffer. They made of them a kind of book, by means of holes in the thicker ends of the leaves through which they pass a fillet and thus bind together as many as are required." Where-ever the king went he was accompanied by seven or eight of his private secretaries carrying a number of blank palm leaves with the king's seal at the top. The king dictated his orders and they wrote it down from the royal seal to the bottom. The office of clerks and secretaries was performed by the *Ozhukil Menons* (ഓഴുകിൽ മേനവന്മാർ).

The chief ports of the kingdom were Puthupat, tanam, Tikkoti, Pantalayini, Kappat, Chaliyam, Tanur Ponnani, Cranganore and Calicut. Puthupattanam on the northern bank of the Kotta river is comparatively modern. In the fifteenth century it was a Moorish town with much trade and navigation. Pantalayini is however one of the oldest ports of Malabar. It is mentioned by the earliest Muhammeden travellers who visited our

coast, and it is the seat of a mosque built by the pioneers of Islam. The mud bank off the coast offers excellent protection for the native craft against the monsoon. Kappat was noted for the soft sapphires found on its strand. Chaliyam is another very ancient settlement of the Moors. Ponnani, called Panam by the Chinese, situated at the mouth of the Bharathapuzha (ഭാരതപ്പുഴ), was ceded by Tirumanasseri. It was the secondary capital of the kingdom and second only to Calicut in its trade. Chetwai, situated at the mouth of the river of that name, owed its importance to the great quantities of pepper that were brought there for shipment. Cranganore is the oldest port of Kerala, but now dwindled in importance on account of the rise of Calicut. (*and Cochin*)

As the capital of the empire and its chief mart the city of Calicut thronged with a cosmopolitan population. There could be seen here representatives of every race and nationality from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan. There were inns and public houses where foreigners could easily find accommodation. No one was molested on account of his religion. Every caste had its tanks and wells, its temples and places of worship. The Muhammadans had their mosques and the Jews their synagogue. No one was allowed to discuss the religion of another, lest it should lead to disturbance and riot.

The harbour or landing place was about a mile and a half from the palace on the right bank of the

Kallai river. It was protected by a stockade garrisoned by the Mappillas. All along the beach pits were dug to trap an unwary enemy. Till the advent of the Portuguese there was no danger of an attack by sea.

The big bazaar was situated between the harbour and the palace near the *Alfandique*. That was the only quarter where the buildings were arranged in streets. Every day a market was held near the palace. The prices were fixed by the king's officers and after they had made their purchase for the king's household, the public were allowed to buy. A fair was also held once a week.

The trade of the country was in the hands of native merchants called Vyaparies, Chettis, Guzeratis called Bantias, and Moors. The Vyaparies dealt in goods of every kind both in the sea-coast and in the interior, in fact wheresoever they obtained profit. They bought all the pepper and ginger from the cultivators in exchange for cotton cloths and other goods. The Chettis were immigrants from the Coromandel. They were dealers in precious stones, red pearls, corals, and other valuable goods such as gold and silver. The Guzeratis came from Cambaya. They traded in goods of every kind and were welcomed by the Zamorin as they paid heavy dues.

The Moors or the Muhammadans were the great wholesale exporters and importers. They engrossed all

the sea trade and navigation of the country. "They built in the city", says Barbosa, "keeled ships of a thousand and a thousand two hundred *bihares* burden. These ships were built without any nails, but the whole of the sheathing was sewn with thread and all upper works differed much from the fashion of ours; they had no decks. Here they took on board goods for every place and every monsoon; ten or fifteen of these ships sailed for the Red Sea, Aden, and Meca, where they sold their goods at a profit, some to the merchants of Juda who took them thence in small vessels to Toro, and from Toro they would go Cairo, and from Cairo to Alexandria, and thence to Venice, whence they came to our regions. These goods were pepper (great store), ginger, cinnamon, cardamoms, myrobalans, tamarinds, canafistula, precious stones of every kind, seed pearls, musk, ambergris, rhubarb, aloeswood, great store of cotton cloths porcelains, and some of them took on at Juda, copper, quick-silver, vermilion, saffron, coloured velvets, rose-water, knives, coloured camlets, gold, silver, and many other things which they brought for sale at Calicut. They started in February and returned from the middle of August up to the middle of October of the same year. In this trade they became extremely wealthy."*

As soon as any foreign merchant landed at Calicut the king assigned him a nayar to protect and

serve him. He was also given a clerk who was generally a Chetti to keep accounts and look after his affairs, and a broker to assist him in buying and selling, who received a commission of 12 per cent from the native sellers and a handsome salary from the merchant. As soon as it was convenient for the merchant, the king's customs officer accompanied him to the ship with the Chetti clerk and made an invoice of all the goods beginning with precious stones and metals. Then they were all taken to the king's ware-house.

This warehouse was called *Alfandique* by the Portuguese. It was situated between the palace and the harbour. It was a great square building paved with stone guarded day and night by the nayars. There was a large number of rooms each of which was secured by two locks; the key of the one was retained by the king's officer, of the other by the owner. Over the doors were written the name of the goods and that of their owner. No one was admitted except on business. A large number of clerks and officers were employed by the king. The officers were all men of quality and substance, either Brahmans or Nayars. When the goods were taken out for sale or export they paid a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem*. "They have no abacus," says Ma Huan writing in 1402, "on which to make their calculations; but in its place they use their toes and fingers and what is very wonderful they are never wrong in their reckonings". In strong contrast to the practice of other

kingdoms, both the customs department and the bazaar were pervaded by a high degree of commercial honour and honesty. The merchants trusted the officers and the officers trusted the merchants so much so that the king's dues were paid sometimes at the end of six months or even of a year.

The currency of the country consisted of gold and silver pieces called *fanams* and *tarens* respectively. In the fifteenth century (1443) a gold fanam was worth as much as fifteen *tarens*. There was also another coin called the *reis*, twenty two of which made a *fanam*. Of all the princes of Malabar, the Perumal conferred the privilege of striking coins on the Zamorin alone. Till the arrival of the Portuguese no other prince in the west coast coined money, and the Calicut fanams were current throughout the whole length of Malabar. The royal mint was a large building close to the palace. It was presided over by the palace goldsmith styled the *Manavikrama Asari* (മാനവിക്രമ അശരി). His ancestors came from Chola-mandalam (ചോളമണ്ഡലം). In M. E. 866 (1691) was minted the new *Virarayan* fanam, (വിരരാജരൂപണം), in contradistinction to which the earlier issues were called the old or *palaya* (പഴയ) fanam. Besides these, foreign coins of approved assay were also current in the country. These were mostly brought by the Arabs.

In various capacities as landlord, feudal overlord, sovereign, and suzerain, the Zamorin enjoyed a large

revenue. He possessed extensive private domains called the *cherikkal* (ചെറിക്കൽ) lands, out of which were defrayed the ordinary expenses of the household. As feudal overlord his chief sources of income were the *purushantaram* (പുരുഷാന്തരം) and the *kazhcha* (കാഴ്ച). The *purushantaram* corresponded to the *relief* or succession duty which every tenant, whether by military or non-military tenure, in feudal England had to pay before succeeding to the dignity or property. It varied from 200 to 1200 fanams. The *kazcha* varied from 2 to 1000 fanams according to the circumstances of the parties. These were made on all occasions of congratulation and condolence, of ascension to the *pattam* (പട്ടം) or throne, of the opening of a newly built palace, a marriage, a birth, or a death in the family. Other sources of his income were:—

amkam (അങ്കം) fee for permitting to hold a trial by battle;

chumkam (ചങ്കം) toll;

ezha (ഏഴ്) confiscation of the states of such neighbouring Rajas or other chiefs as might be incapacitated from poverty or other cause from governing;

kozha (കാഴ്ച) forced contributions for particular emergencies;

thappu (തപ്പു) fines for unintentional crimes;

pizha (പിഴ) fines for intentional crimes;

pulayattu pennu (പുലയാട്ടുപെണ്ണ) proceeds from the sale of lewd or adulterous women outcasted by the community;

ponnarippu (പൊന്നരിപ്പു) the sifting of gold;

attaladakkam (അറ്റാലടക്കം) forfeiture for failure of heirs;

adimappanam (അടിമപ്പണം) a poll tax which every dependant had to pay to his lord;

changatham (ചങ്ങാതം) fee for escort or special protection for a short or long period;

rakshabhogam (രക്ഷാഭോഗം) fee for protection without any time limit;

adinynya urukkal (അടിഞ്ഞ ഉരുക്കൾ; ship-wrecked vessels;

eimmula (എമ്മുല) cow with five udders;

mummula (മുമ്മുല) cow with three udders;

chenkompu (ചെങ്കൊമ്പു) cattle that had destroyed a man or animal;

kannadapulli (കണ്ണാപ്പുള്ളി) cattle having a white spot near the corner of the eye;

anappidi (അനപ്പിടി) elephants caught;

puval (പുവാൽ) buffalo having a white spot at the tip of the tail;

kompu (കൊമ്പു) the tusk of an elephant killed;

kuraka (കുറക) the leg of a deer, wild hog, or other eatable wild animal;

val (വാൽ) the tail of a tiger;

thoal (തോൽ) its skin; and

kinattil panni (കിണറിൽ പanni) hog fallen into a well.

The Zamorins were not intent upon conquest alone. They were patrons of letters also. Every year a literary contest was held at the Tali temple and prizes awarded. This was called the *Pattaththanam* (പട്ടത്താനം). Even now this is held, though it is but a shadow of the great *sadas*, (സദസ്സ്) of ancient days. Every year in the month of Thulam, (തുലാം) the Bhattathiris meet in the southern corridor of the temple and hold discussions and discourses on philosophy and religion for seven days beginning with the *revathy* (രേവതി) asterism. The function is now presided over by the Nyareri Nambutiri (ന്യാരേരി നമ്പൂതിരി). He acts as the judge and receives a special allowance from the Zamorin.

The *pattaththanams* of the fifteenth century were remarkable for the great scholars and pandits who took part in them. In the first middle of the fifteenth century flourished the poets known as the eighteen and half poets (പതിനെട്ടരവകൾ). * This circle consisted of :—

- (1) Nine Payyupatteris (പയ്യുപട്ടേരിമാർ), eight brothers and one son ;
- (2) Five Nambutiris of Thiruvagappara (തിരുവെഴുപ്പുറം);

* Appan Thampuran—*Mangalamala*—pp. 16—34.

- (3) Mullappilli Patteri (മുല്ലപ്പിള്ളി പട്ടരി);
- (4) Chennas Narayanan Nambutiri (ചെന്നന്നമ്പുതിരി);
- (5) Kakkasseri Patteri (കാക്കശ്ശേരി പട്ടരി);
- (6) Uddanda Sastrigal (ഉദ്ദാണ്ടാശ്ത്രികൾ);
- (7) Punathth Nambutiri (പുനത്തമ്പുതിരി).

The Payyupatteris were authorities in Mimamsa and it was a custom among them for each to produce a new work on the subject every year they met together for their father's *sraddha*. A large number of granthams must have been the outcome of this wholesome rule; unfortunately they have not yet been traced and published.

The Thiruvagappra Nambutiris were responsible for two works, "*Lakshmi Manavedam*" (ലക്ഷ്മീമാനവേദം) and *Subhadraharanam* (സുഭദ്രാഹരണം).

Mullappilli and Chennas were once punished by the Zamorin for reciting some slokas casting aspersions upon his character. The punishment was unique. Instead of exiling them he ordered that Mullappilli should be given the first prize before the opening of the *sadas*, an unbearable humiliation for a scholar. Chennas Nambutiri was asked to produce a work on architecture for the next *Pattaththanam*. The *Thanthra samuchchayam* (തന്ത്രസമുച്ചയം) thus composed forms still the guide of the *tantris* (തന്ത്രി) and architects in Malabar.

Punathth Nambutiri was a Malayalam poet. His greatness lay in composing verses in the vernacular. He is the author of the *Krishnagatha* (കൃഷ്ണഗാഥ) As Malayalam was regarded inferior to Sanskrit, he was not given the status of a full poet; he was known as the 'half poet'.

But the most interesting and brilliant of the lot was Uddandan and Kakkasseri, his disciple. Uddandan was a Brahmin pandit of Conjeevaram. Proud of his learning, he came to Malabar to knock off the first prize at the Pattaththanam. He was born in 1428. Struck by the profound learning of the people here, he stayed for a long time in this country, as the welcome guest of one court after another. The most famous works of Uddandan are *Kokila-sandesam* (കോകിലസന്ദേശം) and *Mallika marutham* (മല്ലികമാരുതം). Nobles and pandits quailed under his tongue because the most bitter gall flowed from it with equal ease and profusion as the sweetest honey.

End of Part I.

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF THE CHIEF *naduvazhis* UNDER THE ZAMORIN.

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1. Calicut Talachchannavar (കോഴിക്കോട്ട തലച്ചന്നവർ അല്ലെങ്കിൽ ചാലപ്പാത്ത നാലാക്കൂറ നായർ) ... 5000 Nayars.
2. Ernad Menon (എറണാകുളം മനോൻ, അയ്യായിരപ്രളകുത്താവ അല്ലെങ്കിൽ മന്നിലാടത്തിൽ നായർ) ... 5000 Nayars.
3. Kuthiravattath Nayar (കുതിരവട്ടത്ത നായർ) ... 5000 Nayars.
4. Vayyavinat Nambidi (വയ്യാവിനാട്ടു നമ്പിടി) ... 5000 Nayars.
5. Karakkat Mooththavan *alias* Kavalappara Nayar (കാരക്കാട്ടു മുത്തവൻ അല്ലെങ്കിൽ കവളപ്പാറ നായർ) ... 1000 Nayars.
6. Periyanda Mukkil Kizhakke Nambidi (പെരിയാണ്ടമുക്കിൽ കിഴക്കേ നമ്പിടി) ... 1000 Nayars.
7. Venganad or Kollengode Nambidi (വെങ്ങനാട അല്ലെങ്കിൽ കൊല്ലങ്കോട്ട നമ്പിടി) ... 1000 Nayars.

8. Raman Ulladan (രാമൻ ഉള്ളാടൻ) ... 1000 Navars.
9. Mukkatakāt Nayar (മുക്കടക്കാട്ട നായര) ... 500 Nayars.
10. Kannanur Pata Nayar *alias* Trikkatiri Nayar (കണ്ണൻ പട്ടനം അല്ലെങ്കിൽ തൃക്കടീരിനായര) ... 500 Nayars
11. Mankara Nayar (മങ്കരനായര) ... 500 Nayars
12. Puliyakkot Mooththa Nayar (പുളിയക്കോട്ട മുത്ത നായര) ... 500 Nayars.
13. Periyandamukkil Patinhare Nam bidi (പെരിയാണ്ടമുക്കിൽ പട്ടിഞ്ഞാരം നമ്പിടി) ... 500 Nayars.
14. Kozhikkolli Nayar (കോഴിക്കോളി നായര) ... 300 Nayars,
15. Kottol Patanayakan (കോട്ടാൽ പട്ടനായകൻ) ... 300 Nayars,
16. Irikkalikkal Athikaran (ഇരിക്കാലിക്കൽ അധികാരൻ) ... 300 Nayars,
17. Vittikkat Nayar *alias* Kannambra Nayar (വിട്ടിക്കാട്ട നായര അല്ലെങ്കിൽ കണ്ണമ്പ്രനായര) ... 300 Nayars.

18. Elampulasseri Nayar (എളംപുലാശ്ശേരി നായര) ... 300 Nayars.
19. Nedunganad Patanayar (നെടുങ്ങനാട പടനായര) ... 300 Nayars.
20. Mulanha Patanayar (മുളഞ്ഞ പടനായര) ... 300 Nayars.
21. Muriyanad Patanayar (മുരീയനാട്ടുപടനായര) ... 300 Nayars.
22. Tekkekuril Vatakke Nayar (തെക്കെ കൂറില വടക്കെ നായര) ... 300 Nayars.
23. Cheranghat Kulapalli Nayar (ചെറങ്ങാട്ടുകുളപ്പള്ളി നായര) ... 300 Nayars.



APPENDIX II.

ROYAL WRITS.

(I)

To the Raja of Vettet.

പാക്കാട്ടഴിയത്തു തലക്കാപ്പ കണ്ടു കായ്മമാവതു കൊല്ലം 825-ാമതു വൃശ്ചികത്തായർ 26-ാംനു വെട്ടംമുടയ മുത്തുകാവയിൽക്കു അരിചിടുകയിൽ നാം ഇരിക്കുന്നേടത്തു കെട്ടിപ്പാവക്കേണ്ടും അരിചിലപാതത്തിന്റെ പണവും കായ്മക്കാരകും പൊഴുത്തിക്കാരകുംകൂടി വരേണ്ടും പണവും കഴിച്ചുനീക്കി വരേണ്ടും പണം 3000 വും പാറെ പരമേശ്വരൻ വക്കൽ കൊടുത്തേക്ക. എന്നാൽ പണം 3000 വും കൊല്ലം 826-ാമതു തുലാവ്യാഴം മകരത്തായറിൽ കൊടുത്തേക്ക.

(2)

To the Kuthiravattath Nayar.

കുതിരവട്ടം കണ്ടു കാരിയമാവത. കൊല്ലം 825-ാമതു തുലാവ്യാഴം മകരത്തായർ മുത്തക്കു മുമ്പിത്താൽ തന്റെ കാരണവരെ കല്പിച്ചയക്കുംവണ്ണം അയക്കയും ചെയ്യൂ. എന്നാൽ തിരുവില്വാമലത്തെയവരെയും ചെമ്പങ്കളങ്ങരെ അയച്ചുനെയും പാദമൂലത്തെയും വെങ്ങുന്നാട്ടിൽ അപ്പിച്ചിയെയും പാലച്ചെരി വെള്ളാളിയെയും അഞ്ചരച്ചെരി ചെട്ടുനായരെയും മൂന്നുകുടി ഇഴുവരെയും മടമ്പിനടുത്തത് എപ്പരും പണ്ടു പുലത്തിയത് എപ്പരും പണ്ടു തന്റെ കാരണവൻ പുലത്തിയവണ്ണം പുലത്തിരക്കിക്കുംവണ്ണം രക്ഷിച്ചെക്ക.

(3)

Appointment of Kariakkars.

(a)

വല്ലഭാവഴി കുഞ്ഞിക്കുരിക്കൾക്കു തുറയിൽ അതിയാ
രത്തിനും സർവ്വതിയാരത്തിനും തിരുവെഴുത്ത കൊടുത്ത
കുണക്കു.

കൊല്ലം 846-ാമത കുഭമേനി കർമ്മകവ്യാഴം കു
ഭവേധൻ കുഭമോച്ച മിനരാജ് മകരശുക്രൻ മകരത്താ
യർ 29-ാംനു- പൂരാടവും കറുത്ത പോരേയും വെള്ളിയാ
ഴ്ചയും ആയ നാൾ അകുന്ത മൂന്നമുക്കാൽ അടിക്ക മേടം
രാശിക്കു തൃപ്പുറയാററ കാരാചലി തെക്കെടത്ത ഇരുന്ന
രുളെ ഏതാട്ടി ഇളംകൂറ നമ്പിയാതിരി തിരുമുൽപ്പാട്ടു
നും കാരായക്കാര ഏല്ലാവരുംകൂടി ഉണർത്തിച്ച തൃക്കൈ
വിളയാടി വരവു കുറിയ തിരുവെഴുത്ത നാലു.

വല്ലഭാവഴി കുഞ്ഞിക്കുരിക്കൾക്കു തുറയിൽ അതിയാ
രമായി കല്പിച്ചു. എന്നാൽ തുറയിൽ അടുത്തതിനെ
കൊടുത്തപ്പാൻ തക്കവണ്ണം എഴുതി കുഞ്ഞിക്കുരിക്കൾ വ
ക്കൽ കൊടുത്ത തിരുവെഴുത്ത ഒന്നു. ആ തിരുവെഴുത്ത
വാങ്ങി മങ്ങാട്ടുണ്ണിക്കുമാരമനോൻ വക്കൽ കൊടുത്തു.
അച്ചൻ ആ തിരുവെഴുത്തു കെട്ടിച്ചു വായിച്ചു. ഇരു
ന്നാലും എന്ന അച്ചൻ കുരിക്കളോടു പറഞ്ഞാറെ കിഴക്കു
തിരിഞ്ഞ കുരിക്കൾകൂടി ഇരിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു. അതിന്നു
ശേഷം അച്ചനും ഇളയതും കുരിക്കാരരുംകൂടി വാചകം
ചൊല്ലി സർവ്വതിയാരമായി കല്പിച്ചതിന്നു കളത്തിൽ ഇ

ദികരണാകരമോനാൻ എഴുതിയ കുറിയ തിരുവെഴുത്തി
ലെ വാചകം.

“വേല്പട്ടാവഴി കഞ്ഞികിരിക്കൾ കണ്ടു കാര്യമായതു.
നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിലേക്കു സർപ്പാതിയാരമായി നാം ത
ന്നെ കല്പിക്കയും ചെയ്തു. എന്നാൽ കൊല്ലം 846-ാമത
കുക്കിടകവ്യാഴം മകരത്തായർ 28-ാംനു മുതൽക്കു ചെരി
ക്കല്പകളും അറയും തുറയും അകവും ചുകവും വഴിപി
ഴയും ആനമലെയും പൊന്ന അരിപ്പിക്കയും കല്പന പെ
രാംപെറും മേൽ(കോ)യിമസ്ഥാനത്തെക്കു അവകാശപ്പെ
ട്ടതിനെ കൈയും താൻ പൊഴുത്തിച്ച മുതലാക്കി തഞ്ചി
ലവുകളും പന്നിയൂർ ചൊവ്വരവു എന്നാട പെരുമ്പട
പ്പും പടച്ചിലവും കഴിച്ച കളത്തിൽ കൃഷ്ണൻറ കണക്കോ
ലപ്പടിക്ക നമ്മെ കണക്കു ഒപ്പിച്ചെടുക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു”

(b)

തറക്കിൽ ഇരച്ചൻ കണ്ടു കാര്യമായതു. പൊ
ന്നാതിവാഴ്കെ ചേരിക്കുമെന്തൽ പലിചപാട്ടവും കല്പന
പെരാംപെറും ചങ്ങാതമുകും നൊക്കും അങ്കചുംകവും വ
ഴിപിഴുത്തരാതിയും തുറമുതലും പൊഴുത്തിച്ച കൊല്ലം
851-ാമത കുക്കത്തായർ മുതൽക്കു മുതലാക്കി തഞ്ചിലവു
കളും മാസപ്പടികളും തിരുനവാതൊന്നവും കഴിച്ച ശേ
ഷം ഉള്ളതിനെ നാം ആക്കിയ മെന്നൊക്കുകൾ കണക്കോ
ലപ്പടിക്ക കറലത്തൊറും നമ്മെ ഒപ്പിച്ചെടുക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു.



APPENDIX III.

The statement given by H. H. the Zamorin
to the Hon'ble East India Company,
dated the 15th Kanni 986 M. E. (1810 A. D.).

കൊഴിക്കൊട്ട മാനവിക്രമതാമുതിരിരാജാവ അവാർ
കൾ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഇകരസ്സ കമ്പഞ്ഞി സമസ്ഥാന
ത്തിൽ ബൊധിപ്പിച്ചാൻ ആയിട്ടു രാജശ്രീ മെജർ കം
ലമക്കിഞ്ചസായ്ക്ക അവാർകളുടെ ഗുമസ്തൻ നെട്ടിൽ മായ
ണ്ണയൻറെ വക്കൽ എഴുതികൊടുത്ത കല്പിത്താവിത.

എന്തെന്നാൽ നമ്മുടെ പൂർവ്വത്താന്തങ്ങൾ ബഹു
മാനപ്പെട്ട ഇകരസ്സ കമ്പഞ്ഞിസമസ്ഥാനത്തിൽ ബൊ
ധിപ്പിക്കണമെന്ന സമസ്ഥാനത്തിൽ നിന്ന കല്പന
വന്നപ്രകാരം നെട്ടിൽ മായണ്ണയൻ നമ്മെ ബൊധിപ്പി
ച്ച പൂർവ്വത്താന്തങ്ങളുടെ വിവരം ചൊട്ടും ചൊട്ടു
ത്തിന്റെ ഉത്തരപ്രകാരം നാം അറിഞ്ഞെടുത്താളും ഉള്ള
വിവരം താഴെ എഴുതി ബൊധിപ്പിക്കുന്നു.

മദിരാശിയിൽ നിന്ന.

രാജശ്രീ മെജർ കാലമക്കിഞ്ചസായ്ക്കവർകളുടെ ഗുമ
സ്തൻ നെട്ടിൽ മായണ്ണയൻറെ വക്കൽ കൊല്ലം 986-ാമ
ത കന്നിത്തായർ 15-ാംനു എഴുതികൊടുത്ത കല്പാസ്സി
ന്റെ പകർപ്പ്.

കൊഴിക്കൊട്ട മാനവിക്രമതാമുതിരിരാജാവ അവാർ
കൾ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഇകരസ്സ കമ്പഞ്ഞി സമസ്ഥാനത്തി

കൽ ബോധിപ്പിച്ചാനായിട്ട രാജശ്രീ മെജർ കാലമക്കി ബ്രസായ്ക്ക അമാർകളുടെ ഗുരുകുലം നെട്ടിൽ മാർണ്ണയ്ക്കൻറ വക്കൽ എഴുതികൊടുത്ത കല്പിത്താവിത. എന്തെന്നാൽ നമ്മുടെ പൂർവ്വത്താന്തങ്ങൾ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഇങ്കുരസ്സ് കമ്പത്തിലുമസ്ഥാനത്തിൽ ബോധിപ്പിക്കണമെന്ന സമസ്ഥാനത്തിൽ നിന്ന കല്പന വന്നപ്രകാരം നെട്ടിൽ മാർണ്ണയ്ക്കൻ നമ്മെ ബോധിപ്പിച്ച പൂർവ്വത്താന്തങ്ങളുടെ വിചാരം ചൊല്ലും ചൊല്ലുത്തിന്റെ ഉത്തരപ്രകാരം നാം അറിഞ്ഞെടുത്താളും ഉള്ള വിചാരം താഴെ എഴുതി ബോധിപ്പിക്കുന്നു.

(1) ഒന്നാമത. അതിശ്രാലികാൻ വാളയാവുന്ന രാജ്യം അതിശ്രമിച്ച നമ്മുടെ കൊവിലകങ്ങളും മറ്റും പല ഭവനങ്ങളും ചട്ടപ്പൊല അതിരൊട്ടുകൂടി പുസ്തകങ്ങൾ കൈയും വെട്ടുപൊക്കയും ചെയ്തു.

(2) രണ്ടാമത. എങ്കിലും പൂർവ്വന്മാര പറഞ്ഞുകെട്ടുധാരണ അറിഞ്ഞെടുത്താളും താഴെ എഴുതുന്നു. പ്രസിദ്ധന്മാരായിരിക്കുന്ന പെരുമാക്കന്മാര മലയാളം രക്ഷിച്ചുപൊരുന്നവരുടെ ഒട്ടകം ഈ കെരളരാജ്യത്തിന്ന അധിപരിയായി ചെരമാൻപെരുമാള എന്ന ആൾക്കു വാല്യകൃകാലം വന്ന സമയത്തിൽ അതിഹികസുഖങ്ങളിൽ വൈരാഗ്യം വന്ന രാജാധികാരവും രാജഭോഗങ്ങളും ഉപേക്ഷിച്ച ഗതി വരുത്തുവാനായിക്കൊണ്ട മഹാപ്രസ്താനം ചെയ്യണമെന്ന നിശ്ചയിച്ച ഏറിയ ആളുകളെ കെരളരാജ്യത്തിൽ കാരാരൊ ശീമകൾക്കു രാജാക്കന്മാരാ

കി വെണ്ടുന്ന മാനുഷങ്ങളും കൊടുത്തവെച്ച ദേശാന്തരഗ
 മനം ചെയ്യാനായിക്കൊണ്ടു ഭാവിച്ച സമയത്തിങ്കൽ കെ
 രളരാജ്യത്തിങ്കലുള്ള മഹാബ്രാഹ്മണരെല്ലാവരും ശേഷം
 പ്രജകളും ചെരമാൻപെരമാളുടെ സന്നിധാനത്തിങ്കൽ
 ചെന്ന പെരുമാളു രാജ്യം ഉപേക്ഷിച്ചു പൊകരുതെന്നും
 രാജാവ രാജ്യം ഉപേക്ഷിച്ചാൽ ദ്രേവബ്രാഹ്മണർക്കും ശേഷം
 പ്രജകൾക്കും ഒരു ആശ്രയമില്ലാ എന്നും ഖണ്ഡമണ്ഡലാ
 ധിപത്യം ആക്കിവെച്ചാൽ ഞങ്ങളുടെ സങ്കടം രീന് കഴി
 കയില്ലെന്നും ബഹുനായകത്തിന്നു അനേകം ദോഷങ്ങളു
 ണ്ടല്ലോ എന്നും, അതുകൊണ്ടു പെരുമാളു രാജ്യം വിട്ടു
 പൊകരുത എന്നും എങ്കിലും അയിഹികസുഖങ്ങളൊക്കെ
 യും ഉപേക്ഷിച്ചു മഹാപ്രസ്ഥാനം ചെയ്താ എന്നു നിശ്ച
 യിച്ചു എന്നുവരികിൽ മെലൽ ആക്കിവെച്ചിട്ടുള്ള രാജാ
 ക്കന്മാര എല്ലാവരുടെയും മീതെ മഹാരാജാവിന്റെ സ്ഥാ
 തമായിട്ടു മെൽ ഏഴുതീയ രാജാക്കന്മാര ധർമ്മല്ലാതെ തു
 ടങ്ങിയാൽ അവരെ അടക്കിരക്ഷിച്ചു ഞങ്ങളു എല്ലാവരേ
 യും രക്ഷിപ്പാനായിട്ടും രാജ്യത്തെ സത്യധർമ്മങ്ങൾ തടത്തു
 വാനായിട്ടും മാനവിക്രമധർമ്മശാസ്ത്രാദി സകല ഗുണങ്ങ
 ളൊടുംകൂടി ഏറ്റവും വിരവകി ആയി സത്യസന്ധൻ ആ
 യിട്ടു കരാളെ ഇക്കരളരാജ്യത്തിങ്കലേക്കു വംശപാരമ്പര്യ
 മായിട്ടു രാജതപവും സകലമാന രാജചിഹ്നങ്ങളും രാജഭോ
 ഗങ്ങളും കൊടുത്ത പെരുമാളുതന്നെ എല്ലാവർക്കും മീതെ
 മഹാരാജാവായി പട്ടംവാഴിച്ചവെച്ചു ഞങ്ങളുടെ സങ്കടം
 രീന്തരക്ഷിപ്പാൻ തക്കവണ്ണം ആക്കിവെച്ചു അല്ലാതെ മ

ഹാപ്രസ്താതം ചെയ്യരുത എന്നും, പെരുമാളോട അപേ
 ക്ഷിക്കുകൊണ്ട പെരുമാളും ബ്രാഹ്മണരും പ്രജകളുംകൂടി
 മെൽ എഴുതിയ ഗുണങ്ങൾ കൊണ്ടും തികഞ്ഞിട്ട ആരളൂ
 എന്ന അന്വേഷിച്ചെടുത്ത നമ്മുടെ വംശത്തിങ്കൽ മാത
 വിക്രമൻ എന്ന ഒരു ആളും അനന്തിരവൻ മാനവേദൻ
 എന്ന ഒരു ആളും പെരുമാളോടുകൂടിയെന്നെ ഏറിയ ദിവ
 സമായിട്ട പാൽ ബ്രാഹ്മണപ്രിയത്വമായിട്ട പെരുമാളു
 ടെ കല്പനക്കുതന്നെ രാജ്യത്തിങ്കൽ ഭൂഷ്ടിഗ്രാമശിഷ്ടപ
 റിപാലനങ്ങൾ ചെയ്ത വളരെ ശിലമുള്ളവർ ആകുകൊ
 ണ്ട ആ രണ്ടാളെയുംതന്നെ നിശ്ചയിച്ച അതിൽ ജ്യേഷ്ഠ
 നായിരിക്കുന്ന മാതവിക്രമൻ എന്നാളെ സഭയിങ്കൽ
 വെച്ച സകലമാന ജനങ്ങളുംകൂടി ബ്രാഹ്മണരിൽ ഏറാ
 വും ശ്രേഷ്ഠനായിട്ടും, തപസ്സിനായിട്ടും, വിദ്യാനായിട്ടും
 സാമ്രാജ്യങ്ങളെ യോഗം ചെയ്ത പരിശുദ്ധി വന്നിട്ടുള്ള
 ആളായിട്ടും ഈ കെരളരാജ്യത്തിങ്കൽ അറുപത്തിനാല
 ഗ്രാമത്തിൽ ബ്രാഹ്മണർ എല്ലാവർക്കും സമ്മതമായിട്ട
 ചെയ്യേണ്ടുന്ന കാര്യങ്ങൾ എന്തെങ്കിലും ഉണ്ടായാൽ ആ
 യു പ്രത്യേകം ചെയ്യാൻ മെൽഎഴുതിയ 64 ഗ്രാമത്തിൽ
 ബ്രാഹ്മണരും ശ്രീപരശുരാമനുംകൂടി സമ്മതിച്ച വംശപാ
 രമ്പയ്ക്കുമായിട്ട കൊടുത്ത സ്ഥാനം ഉള്ള ആഴുവാഞ്ചീരി ത
 ബ്രാക്കള എന്ന മഹാബ്രാഹ്മണനെക്കൊണ്ട ശേഷം ആ
 ഡ്യന്മാരായിരിക്കുന്ന ബ്രാഹ്മണരുംകൂടി ചെരമാൻപെരുമാ
 ല് മുമ്പാകെ സകല ജനങ്ങളുടെയും അനുവാദത്തോടുകൂ
 ടി കെരളരാജ്യത്തിങ്കലേക്കു എല്ലാവരിലും മീതെ മഹാരാ

ജാവാക്കി പട്ടം വാഴിച്ച സകലമാതവിരുതുകളും സർവ്വ
മാന്യങ്ങളും വംശപാരമ്പര്യമായിട്ടു എന്നെക്കും രാജാവു
വും മുൻപുമുൻപെ രാജമുദ്ര ആയിട്ടുള്ള വാളും വിശേഷാൽ
കാലിന്ദ്രൻ വീരചങ്ങലയും കൊടുത്തു കൊഴിക്കൊട്ട രാജ
ധാനിയും കല്പിച്ച മെൽപ്പുഴുതിയ മാനവെദൻ എന്ന ആ
ളെ എളയ രാജാവു ആയിട്ടും പട്ടം വാഴിച്ച മന്ത്രിപ്രധാ
നികളൊടുംകൂടി ധർമ്മണ രാജ്യം രക്ഷിപ്പാൻ തക്കവണ്ണം
ആക്കിവെച്ച ചെരമാൻപെരുമാളെ മഹാപ്രസ്താനും ചെ
യ്ക്കയും ചെയ്തു.

(3) മൂന്നാമത. തമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിങ്കലെ വംശ
പാരമ്പര്യത്തിന്റെയും നാമധേയങ്ങളുടെയും വിവരം അ
റിയണമെന്ന ചൊദിച്ചതിന്റെ ഉത്തരം താഴെ എഴുതു
ന്നു. മെൽപ്പുഴുതിയ മഹാരാജാക്കന്മാരുടെ അമ്മയും,
സോദരിമാരെയും, അവരുടെ പുത്രന്മാരെയും, മെൽപ്പുഴു
തിയ കൊഴിക്കൊട്ട സമസ്തമാനത്തിങ്കൽ ചെന്ന് ഏറ്റവും
കുറേ തെടിയിരുപ്പുദേശത്തു ഒരു ഭവനത്തിൽ പാർത്തിരു
ന്നവരെ മെൽപ്പുഴുതിയ മഹാരാജാക്കന്മാർ ഉടനെ കൊ
ഴിക്കൊട്ട സമസ്തമാനത്തെക്കു വരുത്തി അമ്പാടിക്കൊവില
കും എന്നും സാമൂതിരി കൊവിലകും എന്നും രണ്ടു കൊ
വിലകും ഉണ്ടാക്കി ആയതിൽ മെൽപ്പുഴുതിയ അമ്മയെ
പെൺവഴിമുപ്പു ആയിട്ടു വാഴിച്ച സോദരിമാരൊടുംകൂടി
അമ്പാടിക്കൊവിലകത്തു ഇരിപ്പാൻ തക്കവണ്ണം കല്പിക്ക
യുംചെയ്തു. മെൽപ്പുഴുതിയ മരുമക്കളെ യഥാക്രമംപൊലെ
മൂന്നാം രാജാവു ആയിട്ടും, നാലാം രാജാവു ആയിട്ടും, അ

ബാറ രാജാവ ആയിട്ടും വാഴിക്കയും ചെയ്തു. അന്നു മുതൽ മെലാൽ ഉണ്ടാകുന്ന പുരുഷന്മാരും സ്ത്രീകളും വയസ്സു മൂപ്പുപൊലെ മെൽ എഴുതിയ സ്ഥാനങ്ങളിൽ വാണ രാജ്യം രക്ഷിച്ചു പൊരിക എന്ന ഒരു മയ്യാദയും വെച്ചു പെൺവഴിയും വയസ്സു മൂപ്പുപൊലെ അമ്പാടികൊവിലകത്തും വാഴുക എന്ന മരിയാദയും വെച്ചു കുഴിഞ്ഞുപോരുന്നു. സാമൂതിരി എന്നും, പുത്തൂരക്കോൻ എന്നും, കുന്നലെക്കോൻ എന്നും, മാതവിക്രമൻ എന്നും, മാതവെദൻ എന്നും, വീരരായൻ എന്നും ആറ നാമധേയങ്ങൾ നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിൽ പാരമ്പര്യമായിട്ടുണ്ട്. നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിൽ ജനിക്കുന്ന കിടാങ്ങൾക്കു മെൽ എഴുതിയ മാതവിക്രമൻ എന്നും, മാതവെദൻ എന്നും, വീരരായൻ എന്നും നാമധേയങ്ങളിൽ ഓരൊന്ന ഇട്ടു പൊരുമാറും ഉണ്ട്. മറ്റാ മെലപ്പെട്ടിയ മൂന്നു നാമങ്ങളും മഹാരാജാവിന്റെ ഗുണനാമങ്ങൾ ആകുന്നത്. അതിൽ കുന്നലെക്കോൻ എന്ന പറയുന്ന പെരിന്ന ശൈലാബ്ധീശ്വരൻ എന്ന സംസ്കൃതം.

4. നാലാമത. നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിലെ മാനുഷങ്ങളുടെയും വിരതുകളുടെയും വിവരം താഴെ എഴുതുന്നു.

ആനപിടി പറന്നരിപ്പ് അകം ചുക്കം വഴി പിഴ എഴ കൊഴ അരിശയധനധാന്യങ്ങൾ അതിക്രാന്തപദാർത്ഥങ്ങൾ കപ്പലടി മുതലായുള്ള സകല മാനുഷങ്ങളും ഉണ്ട്. പതിനെട്ടു വാദ്യവും പള്ളിശംഖും വെൺ കൊറ്റാക്കുടയും ഉഭയചാമരവും നിയമവെടിയും പണ

മടിയും മുഖിൽതളിയും ചിരതവിളിയും മകുത്ത കുപ്പ
ലും മാനാങ്കവെലയും ആന കുതിര പല്ലക്ക ആയിട്ടു
ള്ള വാഹനങ്ങളും നടത്തുമെടിയും പതിന്നട്ട ആയുധങ്ങ
ളും വയറാട്ടും കുർപ്പൂരത്തിരിയും കട്ടെയവും ഘോഷയാ
ത്രയും വിരപാളി മുരളായിട്ടുള്ള ദിവ്യാസ്രുങ്ങളും കത്ത
വിലക്ക മുതലാരിട്ടുള്ള ദിപാവലികളും മെടമെൽ മെടയും
പൊന്നും കാളാഞ്ചിയും വിശേഷാൽ കാലിന്ദ്രൻ വിര
ചങ്ങലയും മുതലായുള്ള സകലമാന വിരതുകളും ഉണ്ട.
താഴെ ഉള്ളവർക്കു അതാത അവസ്ഥപൊലെ ചൊദിച്ച വി
രതുകൾ കൊടുത്ത നടക്കുമാറും ഉണ്ട.

(5) അഞ്ചാമത. മാനാങ്കവെലയുടെയും ചാവെറി
ന്റെയും വിവരം അറിയണമെന്ന ചൊദിച്ചതിന്റെ ഉ
ത്തരം താഴെ എഴുതുന്നു. എന്തെന്നാൽ കെരളരാജ്യത്തി
ങ്കൽ പുരാണപ്രസിദ്ധമായി നീള എന്നും പ്രശീചി എ
ന്നും പെരായിട്ടുള്ള പെരാറ എന്ന നദിയുടെ ഉത്തരതീര
ത്തിങ്കൽ നവയോഗികളുടെ പ്രതിഷ്ഠ ആയിരിക്കുന്ന മഹാ
വിഷ്ണുവിന്റെ നിത്യസാന്നിദ്ധ്യം പരിപൂർണ്ണമായിരിക്കുന്ന
തിരുന്നാവായെ എന്ന പുണ്യക്ഷേത്രത്തിങ്കൽ മഹാവിഷ്ണു
വിനും മെലൈഴുതിയ പെരാറ എന്ന മഹാനദിക്കും ചി
ങ്ങമ്പുറം വരുന്ന കാലങ്ങളിൽ മാഘമാസം 28 ദിവ
സവും വലുതായിട്ടുള്ള മഹോത്സവം ആകുന്നത്. മെലൈ
ഴുതിയ മാഘമാസത്തിൽ ഗംഗ തുടങ്ങിയുള്ള പുണ്യനീർ
ങ്ങളുടെ സാന്നിദ്ധ്യം മെലൈഴുതിയ നീളാ എന്ന നദിയിൽ
ഉണ്ട എന്ന പുരാണങ്ങളിൽ പറയുന്നതും ഉണ്ട. മെൽ

എഴുതിയ ഉത്സവം പരിപാലിക്കാനായിക്കേണ്ട നമ്മുടെ
 സ്വരൂപത്തിൽ മഹാരാജാവ ആവുന്ന സാമൂതിരിരാജാ
 വും ശേഷം നാലു കൂറവാഴ്ചയിലുള്ള രാജാക്കന്മാരും, മ
 ന്ത്രിപ്രധാനികളും സേനാപതികളും മഹാബ്രാഹ്മണരും
 സകലമാന ജനങ്ങളുംകൂടി മെൽ എഴുതിയ തിരുന്നാവാ
 യെ മഹാക്ഷേത്രത്തിന്റെ സന്നിധാനത്തിൽ കൊവി
 ലകളും പണിചെയ്യിച്ചു ഇരുന്ന മെൽ എഴുതിയ ജന
 ങ്ങൾ എല്ലാവരൊടും സകലമാന വിരതകളൊടുംകൂടി മെ
 ല്ലാഞ്ഞ മഹാവിഷ്ണുവിന്റെ ഉത്സവവും നദിയുടെ ഉത്സവ
 വും നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിന്റെ പ്രതാപവുമായിട്ട് കന്നാ
 യി മെലഴുതിയ മാഘമാസത്തിൽ 28 ദിവസവും നില
 പാടും ഘോഷയാത്രയും നടത്തി സകലമാന ജനങ്ങൾ
 ക്കും അന്നദാനവും ചെയ്തു സന്തോഷിപ്പിച്ചു നിത്യവും ന
 ദിയെ സ്നാനവും ചെയ്തു മഹാവിഷ്ണുവിനെയും സേവിച്ചു
 ബ്രാഹ്മണരുടെ ആശീർവാദത്തോടുംകൂടി ഇരിക്കുമാറാകുന്ന
 ത. ഇപ്രകാരം മാമാങ്കവേല അലങ്കരിച്ചിരിക്കുമ്പോൾ
 മെലഴുതിയ മലയാളത്തിലുള്ള രാജാക്കന്മാര എല്ലാവരും
 അതിശയപദാത്മങ്ങളായിട്ടുള്ള ഉപായനങ്ങളൊക്കെയും
 കൊടുത്തയക്കുമാറാകുന്നത. കൈരളരാജ്യത്തിൽ വളള
 വനാട്ടുകര എന്ന ശീമക്ക അധിപതിയായിരിക്കുന്ന വ
 ള്ളവക്കൊരാതിരി എന്ന രാജാവ മെൽ എഴുതിയ ശീമ
 യിലുള്ള പ്രജകളെ ധർമ്മം അല്ലാതെ ഉപദ്രവിക്കു സംഗ
 രിച്ചായിട്ട് അവിടെയുള്ള പ്രജകളെല്ലാവരുംകൂടി അയിധി
 കന്യുവങ്ങളെ ഉപേക്ഷിച്ചു പരഗതി വരുത്തുവാനായിട്ട്

മെൽപറഞ്ഞ ശീമയിൽ തിരുമാനമാകുന്ന എന്ന എത്രയും പൂണ്യസ്ഥലമായിരിക്കുന്ന ക്ഷേത്രത്തിങ്കൽ അധിവാസമായ ശ്രീമഹാഭദ്രകാളി എന്ന ഭഗവതിയെ സെവിച്ച പരഗതിയെ അപേക്ഷിച്ചപ്പോൾ ചിങ്ങവ്യാഴം വരുന്ന കാലങ്ങളിൽ മാഘമാസത്തിൽ തിരുന്നാവായെ എന്ന പൂണ്യസ്ഥലത്തിങ്കൽ നദീതീരത്തെ വിഷ്ണുക്ഷേത്രത്തിന്റെ സന്നിധാനത്തിങ്കൽ ചെന്ന യുദ്ധം ചെയ്ത ദേഹത്യാഗം ചെയ്യാൻ പരഗതി വരുമെന്ന മെൽപറഞ്ഞ ഭഗവതിയുടെ നിയോഗപ്രകാരം അതാത ചിങ്ങവ്യാഴം വരുന്ന കാലങ്ങളിൽ മെൽപറഞ്ഞ ശീമയിൽ കർമ്മാവസാനം വന്നിട്ടുള്ള പ്രജകൾ ഭഗവതിയുടെ ആവേശത്തോടുകൂടി കാടിവന്ന തിരുന്നാവായെ മാമാങ്കവെലയും നടത്തിക്കണ്ടേ ഇരിക്കുന്ന നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിങ്കലെ സൈന്യത്തോട യുദ്ധംചെയ്ത ചരിച്ച പരഗതി വരുത്തുമാറും ഉണ്ട. മെൽപറഞ്ഞ മാഘമാസം 28 ദിവസവും മാമാങ്കവെലയും നടത്തി ഇരുപത്തെട്ട ദിവസം കഴിഞ്ഞാൽ മെൽഏഴുതിയ മഹാവിഷ്ണുവിനെയും പൂണ്യനദിയെയും മഹാബ്രാഹ്മണരെയും നമസ്കരിച്ച അവരുടെ അനുഗ്രഹത്തോടുകൂടി സകല ജനങ്ങളും ഒന്നിച്ചു നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിങ്കലെ മഹാരാജാവ കൊഴിക്കൊട്ട സമസ്ഥാനത്തെക്കുതന്നെ പൊകുമാറാകുന്നത.

(6) ആറാമതും പട്ടം വാഴിച്ചയുടെയും ഭരദേവതസ്ഥാനമായിട്ടുള്ള ക്ഷേത്രവൃത്താന്തങ്ങളുടെയും വിവരം അറിയണമെന്ന ചൊല്ലിച്ചതിന്റെ ഉത്തരം താഴെ ഏഴുതുനും.

നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിൽ മൂപ്പായിരുന്ന മഹാരാജാവിന്റെ ഉപേക്ഷിച്ച സ്വർഗ്ഗപാപി ചെറുപ്പം അറിയിക്കുന്ന എളിയ രാജാവായ ആരാധന കഴിയുന്ന ദിവസം തന്നെ പിന്നെ മൂപ്പവന്ന രാജാവായ സകല മാനവിരുതകളോടും, മന്ത്രിപ്രധാനികളോടും, സൈന്യാധികാരികളോടും മറ്റും സകലമാന ജനങ്ങളോടും കൂടി ചേർന്നിട്ടു മെൽപറഞ്ഞ ആഴ്ചയെഴുതിയവർക്കും മുമ്പാകെ മറ്റുള്ള മഹാബ്രാഹ്മണരോടും കൂടി മുമ്പിൽ പട്ടം വാണതുപോലെ തന്നെ പട്ടം വാഴ്ത്താറുണ്ടു്. മെൽപറഞ്ഞ കെരളരാജ്യത്തിൽ കൊണ്ടുവന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് എന്ന ഏറ്റവും പ്രസിദ്ധമായി മഹത്വം ഏറിയിരിക്കുന്ന സത്യാസിയെ നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിൽ പൂർണ്ണമായിട്ടുള്ള രാജാവായ ഉണ്ടായ സാമൂതിരിരാജാവായ ദൈവാനുഗ്രഹം ഹൈന്ദവായിട്ടു ഒരു ദിവസം കണ്ട സമയത്തിൽ സത്യാസിയുടെ ശ്രീപാദാരവിന്ദത്തിൽ നമസ്കാരവും ചെയ്തു നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിലേക്കു വീഴ്ത്തപ്പെട്ടവർക്കുമുള്ള സന്തതിയും സമ്പത്തും വർദ്ധിച്ചിരിപ്പാൻ എന്തു തല്പര്യം എന്ന ചോദിച്ച സമയത്തിൽ ആ സത്യാസി പറഞ്ഞു. എന്തെന്നാൽ മെൽപറഞ്ഞ ഗുണങ്ങൾ കൊണ്ടും ഉണ്ടാകേണ്ടതിന്നു സാക്ഷാൽ ശ്രീഭദ്രകാളിയെയും കിരതമുത്തി ആയിരിക്കുന്ന വെട്ടുകൊരുമകനെയും ശ്രീമഹാദൈവനെയും പാരമ്പര്യമായിട്ടു സേവിക്കേണമെന്നു പറഞ്ഞ മെൽപറഞ്ഞ സത്യാസിതന്നെ പുണ്യസ്ഥലങ്ങൾ നോക്കി നിശ്ചയിച്ചു തിരുവളയനാട്ടുകാവിൽ ഭദ്രകാളിയെയും ബിലാ

ത്തികൊളങ്ങരെ വെട്ടുകൊരുമകനെയും തളിയിൽ ശ്രീമ
ധാദേവനെയും വംശപാരമ്പര്യമാർത്ഥിട്ട സെവിപ്പാൻ ത
ക്കവണ്ണം മെൽ എഴുതിയ സന്യാസിയുടെ നിയാഗപ്ര
കാരം അന്നുമുതൽ ഇന്നേവരെക്കും മെൽഎഴുതിയ ഈ
ശാസ്ത്രമാരെ നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിങ്കൽ പരദൈവ്യതമാ
യിട്ട സെവിച്ചുപോരുന്നു.

(8) എട്ടാമതം രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ അതിരവിവരവും മ
ററുള്ള സ്വരൂപങ്ങളിൽ നിന്നും, നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തി
ങ്കൽ നിന്നും, തമ്മിൽ ഭേദഭേദങ്ങളോടെ വിവരവും അറി
യണമെന്ന ചൊദിച്ചതിന്റെ ഉത്തരം താഴെ എഴുതുന്നു.

മെല്ലാഞ്ഞ രാജാക്കന്മാരെ ചിലര അവരവരുടെ മ
നസ്സാലെ കഴിഞ്ഞ തന്നതായിട്ടും ചിലർ ശീമകളിൽ അ
ധർമ്മ നടത്തുകകൊണ്ടും അവരെ തിരിച്ചിട്ടുത്തതായിട്ടും
നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിങ്കൽ നിന്ന ആളെ അയച്ചു അന്വേഷി
ച്ചുപൊന്നിരുന്ന രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ അതിരവിവരം. കി
ഴക്കു വാളാറികളൊളവും, പടിഞ്ഞാറ സമുദ്രത്തിങ്കലൊ
ളവും, തെക്കു കണ്ടററിപാലത്തിങ്കലൊളവും, വടക്കു പുതു
പട്ടണത്തിങ്കലൊളവും എത്രെ അതിര ആകുന്നു. ഇ
തിൽ തെക്കു കരിയാപള്ളിയൊളം അയിരിരിലാൻ വന്ന
രാജ്യം അതിക്രമിക്കൊളം ആളെ ആക്കി അന്വേഷിച്ചു
പൊന്നിരിക്കുന്നു. അവിടെ നിന്ന കണ്ടററി പാലത്തിങ്ക
ലൊളം രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ അവധി ഉണ്ട എന്ന പൂർവ്വമാര
പറഞ്ഞുകേട്ടിരിക്കുന്നു.

(9) കമ്പതമതം. നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിൽ നിന്നും നാടുവാഴികളും ആയിട്ടുള്ള സംബന്ധങ്ങളുടെയും ദൈവസ്ഥാനങ്ങളിലുള്ള സംബന്ധങ്ങളുടെയും വിവരം അറിയണമെന്ന ചൊരിച്ചതിന്റെ ഉത്തരം താഴെ എഴുതുന്നു.

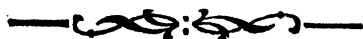
മെല്ലാത്ത രാജ്യത്തിൽ പലപല ആളുകൾ നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിലെ കല്പനക്കു നാടുവാഴികൾ കക്കയും അവരവരുടെ സ്ഥാനങ്ങളിലും നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിലും പുരുഷാന്തരം പകരസ്ഥാൻ നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിൽ നിന്ന കല്പനയെയും മറ്റും വാങ്ങിക്കൊണ്ടുപോയി നാടുവാഴുമാറത്രെ ആകുന്നത്.

നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിൽ മാമാകവെല നടത്തിക്കൊണ്ടു ഇരുന്ന സമയത്തിൽ മെൽ എഴുതിയ നാടുവാഴികൾ കക്കയും അവരവരുടെ വിരുതുകളോടുംകൂടിവന്ന കെട്ടിചിറ്റി ശെക്കം നില്ക്കുമാറും ഉണ്ടു. പിന്നെയും വല്ല സംഗതിക്കു എങ്കിലും വല്ല സമയത്തു എങ്കിലും കല്പന അയച്ചാൽ മെൽ എഴുതിയ നാടുവാഴികൾ കക്കയും കല്പന കണ്ടു ഉടനെ വന്ന കല്പനപ്രകാരം നടക്കുമാറും ഉണ്ടു. സാമാന്യനാ കെരളരാജ്യത്തിൽ ഉള്ള ദൈവസ്ഥാനങ്ങളിൽ കക്കയും നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിലെക്കു മെൽ കൊയ്തസ്ഥാനവും ഉണ്ടു. ദൈവസ്ഥാനങ്ങളിൽ ബ്രാഹ്മണർ ഉള്ള ഉയരാസ്ഥാനം മുതലായ സ്ഥാനസംബന്ധങ്ങളിൽ ചില സ്ഥാനസംബന്ധങ്ങൾ ചിലചില ദൈവസ്ഥാനങ്ങളിൽ ക്രമമായിട്ടും മറ്റും പല സംഗതി ആയിട്ടും ന

മുട്ടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിലേക്കു പൂർ്വ്വപരമായിട്ടു നടന്നപൊരുമാറു ഉണ്ടു. ആ വിവരങ്ങൾ ഒക്കെയും ദൈവസ്ഥാനങ്ങളിൽ നിന്നു എഴുതിയ കല്പിത്തുകളിൽ കാണുകയും ചെയ്യുമല്ലോ.

(10) പത്താമത. പണമടിയുടെ വിവരം ചൊരിച്ചതിന്റെ ഉത്തരം താഴെ എഴുതുന്നു.

വീരരായൻ എന്ന പെരായ, രാജാവിന്നു മൂപ്പകിട്ടിയപ്പൊൾ അടിച്ച പണമാകുകൊണ്ടു വീരരായൻ എന്ന നാമധേയവും ആകുന്നു.



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